Richard 'Dutch' Thomson, c. 1569-1613

The Life and Letters of a Renaissance Scholar

Paul Botley

SCIENTIFIC AND LEARNED CULTURES AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS

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Richard ‘Dutch’ Thomson, c. 1569–1613

Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions

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By

Paul Botley

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ISSN 2352-1325
ISBN 978-90-04-30824-4 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-30828-2 (e-book)

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Acknowledgements

This book emerged from my years at the Warburg Institute, London, where I edited the correspondence of Joseph Scaliger with Dirk van Miert. I have had many conversations with many people about Thomson over the last few years, but my first were with Dirk. Henk Jan de Jonge kept Thomson's name in mind as he read works on the history of theology, and sent me details of what he had gleaned. I am grateful to Hélène Cazes for bringing to my attention the poems by Thomson prefaced to Bonaventura Vulcanius' edition of Agathias. Tom Hamilton's doctoral work on the papers of Pierre de L'Estoile introduced me to an overlooked copy of two letters between Scaliger and Thomson, and Michiel Roscam Abbing sent me copies of some Danish manuscripts of which I had been unaware from his work on the correspondence of Scriverius. Theodor Dunkelgrün's shared with me his knowledge of the Hebrew learning of Thomson's day, and supplied the substance of one of my most learned notes. In the later stages of this book, Nick Hardy's work on the intellectual culture of the seventeenth century often threw new light on my own research. The staff at Exeter Cathedral Library were very good to me when I visited to look at Thomson's volumes of Athenaeus, and Karen Brayshaw kindly sent me details of one of Thomson's books now in Canterbury Cathedral Library. Anthony Grafton, Gerald Toomer and Máté Vince commented on, and significantly improved, a late draft of this work. Finally, my wife Louise read the text before it went to the press. Thomson has lived with us for most of our married life, and we have mixed feelings as we send him off into the world.

Paul Botley
Warwick 2015

Preface

In 1968, John Glucker suggested that 'a detailed biographical study of Richard Thomson may yield worthwhile results'.[1] When he wrote these words, Glucker was not aware of an unfinished study begun more than a century earlier by J.E.B. Mayor which had made a start on the laborious task of gathering the surviving notices of Thomson together.[2] Mayor's approach was certainly the right one: references to Thomson are scattered thinly but widely among the surviving literature of the period. The *Dictionary of National Biography* article on Thomson followed in 1898, a bare summary of his university education, his work as a translator of the King James Bible, and two of his published works.[3] Thomson was then largely forgotten for a century, until the new *Dictionary of National Biography* emerged in 2004.[4] This new summary of his life paid more attention to Thomson's theological work, and to that extent was an advance on the earlier brief notice. However, since most of his theological work was published after his death, it is largely an account of his posthumous reputation. Over recent years, while editing the correspondence of Joseph Scaliger for publication, I found myself completing the work of Mayor and supplementing the work of Thomson's earlier biographers. As a consequence, the sources for his activity are now extensive enough for a substantially new account of his life to be written. This new account confirms Glucker's instinct that Thomson was a much more interesting man than previously suspected.

Although Thomson's theological work has attracted some attention, his work as a scholar has attracted no systematic treatment. His work translating the King James Bible usually ensures him an honourable mention among the learned men of Jacobean England. A full account of his career, however, places

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1 J. Glucker, 'Richard Thomson to Isaac Casaubon, 1596', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 30, 1968, pp. 149–153.

2 J.E.B. Mayor, 'Richard Thomson of Clare Hall', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, 9, Jan. – June 1860, pp. 155–157, and pp. 237–240. Mayor planned a third and final contribution on Thomson which was never completed. For Mayor, Cambridge University Librarian and President of St John's College, Cambridge, see R. Smail, 'Mayor, John Eyton Bickersteth (1825–1910)', ODNB, 2004, 37, pp. 623–625.

3 T. Cooper, 'Thomson, Richard (d. 1613)', *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols, London, 1885–1900, 56, 1898, pp. 266–267.

4 J.D. Moore, 'Thomson, Richard (d. 1613)', ODNB, 2004, 54, pp. 549–550. The entry is a little over 800 words long. Thomson's absence from modern secondary literature is the reason why the present book has no bibliography, although the most frequently cited works are detailed after this preface.

him in a much wider European context. He was good friends with the greatest scholars of his day, Joseph Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon. In fact, one of Thomson's overlooked contributions to the advancement of learning was that he brought these two men into correspondence with one another. Thomson also provides an important link between the literary worlds of Cambridge and the continent in the 1590s. He travelled extensively in Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, before settling permanently in Cambridge. He became a member of no fewer than five universities and made good use of libraries in England, Florence, Geneva, Heidelberg and Leiden. Modern scholarship, working within national boundaries, has tended to see only a part of the whole picture.

Another practical reason for the neglect of Thomson is that the evidence for his activity is widely scattered. His early career is much more complicated than his life after his return to England in 1599, and without a full survey of the evidence it has been difficult to reconstruct his movements. This book brings together a large number of previously unconnected observations on Thomson by his contemporaries. It edits all of the surviving correspondence which I have been able to locate. This includes forty-three previously unpublished letters, and the first critical edition of twenty-two letters last printed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This study necessarily contains large quantities of Latin, and smaller quantities of Greek. Because many of the documents cited are unpublished, they are quoted at length where appropriate. All Latin texts quoted in the body of the text have been translated. Every item of the Latin correspondence edited in part two has been provided with a detailed English synopsis and footnotes, and all Greek passages are supplied with an English translation. Practical considerations preclude translating the Latin portions of the footnotes, although where possible their meaning is paraphrased in the text above. All translations are my own, and all previously unpublished sources cited in the footnotes have been edited by me.

Many readers will, I believe, be struck by the fact that this book includes a large number of precise dates. They are here because much of this book is not about Thomson, but about his connections with his contemporaries. The nature of these connections, and the way Thomson's network of friendships functioned, can only be demonstrated through a close study of the sequence of events. This book advances by collating biographies, by placing Thomson's life alongside those of his contemporaries and examining closely the points at which they intersect or overlap. This way of proceeding is perhaps inevitable in a book which grew out of a study of correspondence, but it is unusual enough to merit some comment here.

Abbreviations

ADB

Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, 55 vols, Leipzig, 1865–1912.

Album Studiosorum of Leiden, 1875

G. du Rieu et al., eds, *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV. Accedunt nomina curatorum et professorum per eadem secula*, The Hague, 1875.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1615

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae duae. Accedunt epistolae clarorum virorum ad D. Baudium, et prolixa Dan. Heinsii inter Baudianas reperta, in qua agitur: an, et qualis literato viro uxor sit ducenda. Item eiusdem D. Baudii commentariolus de foenore*, Leiden, apud Godefridum Basson, 1615.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1620

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres. Quarum tertia nunc in lucem emissa*, Leiden, apud Godefridum Basson, 1620.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1622

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres, quarum tertia nunc in lucem emissa*, Leipzig, apud Eliam Rehefeldium et Iohannem Grosium, 1622.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1625

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres. Ex recentissima editione Lugdunensi*, Leipzig, apud Eliam Rehefeldium et Iohannem Grosium, 1625.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1631

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres. Ex recentissima editione Lugdunensi*, Leipzig, apud Eliam Rehefeldium, excudebat Gregorius Ritzsch, 1631.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1635

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres. Ex recentissima editione Lugdunensi. Editio noviter revisa*, Leipzig, apud Eliam Rehefeldium, excudebat Gregorius Ritzsch, 1635.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1636

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres, lacunis aliquot suppletis. Accedunt eiusdem orationes. Editio auctior et castigatior*, Leiden, excudebat Georgius vander Marse, 1636.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1639

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres, lacunis aliquot suppletis. Accedunt eiusdem orationes. Editio auctior et castigatior. Editio nova*, Amsterdam, typis Ioannis Ianssonii, 1639.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1642

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres, lacunis aliquot suppletis. Accedunt eiusdem orationes. Editio nova*, Amsterdam, typis Ioannis Ianssonii, 1642.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1647

D. Baudius, *Epistolarum centuriae tres, lacunis aliquot suppletis. Accedunt eiusdem orationes. Editio nova*, Amsterdam, typis Ioannis Ianssonii, 1647.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1650

D. Baudius, *Epistolae semicenturia auctae, lacunis aliquot suppletis. Accedunt eiusdem orationes et libellus de foenore*, Leiden, typis Francisci Hackii, 1650.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1654

D. Baudius, *Epistolae semicenturia auctae, lacunis aliquot suppletis. Accedunt eiusdem orationes et libellus de foenore*, Amsterdam, typis Ludovici Elzevirii sumptibus Societatis, 1654.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1660

D. Baudius, *Epistolae semicenturia auctae, lacunis aliquot suppletis. Accedunt eiusdem orationes et libellus de foenore*, Amsterdam, typis Ioannis Ianssonii, 1660.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1662

D. Baudius, *Epistolae semicenturia auctae, lacunis aliquot suppletis. Accedunt eiusdem orationes et libellus de foenore*, Amsterdam, typis Ludovici Elzevirii, sumptibus Societatis, 1662.

Becanus, *Refutatio*, 1610

M. Becanus, *Refutatio Torturae torti seu contra Sacellanum Regis Angliae, quod causam sui Regis negligenter egerit*, Mainz, typis Ioannis Albini, 1610.

Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012.

P. Botley and D. Van Miert, eds, The *Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*, 8 vols, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 2012.

Camden, *Epistolae*, 1691

Camden, *Epistolae, cum appendice varii argumenti*, London, impensis Richardi Chiswelli, 1691.

Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600

Isaaci Casauboni animadversionum in Athenaei Deipnosophistas libri XV, Lyon, A. de Harsy, excudebat G. Iullieron, 1600.

Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850.

J. Russell, ed. *Ephemerides Isaaci Casauboni cum praefatione et notis*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1850.

Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1638

I. Casaubon, *Epistolae quotquot reperiri potuerunt, nunc primum iunctim editae. Adiecta est epistola de morbi eius mortisque causa; deque iisdem narratio Raphaelis Thorii*, The Hague, ex officina Theodori Maire, 1638.

Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1656

I. Casaubon, *Epistolae. Editio secunda LXXXII epistolis auctior, et iuxta seriem temporum digesta, curante Iohanne Georgio Graevio*, Magdeburg and Helmstadt, sumptibus Christiani Gerlachii et Simonis Beckensteinii; Braunschweig, excudit Andreas Dunckerus, 1656.

Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709

I. Casaubon, *Epistolae, insertis ad easdem responsionibus, quotquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt, secundum seriem temporis accurate digestae. Accedunt huic tertiae editioni, praeter trecentas ineditas epistolas, I. Casauboni vita, eiusdem dedicationes, praefationes, prolegomena, poemata, fragmentum de libertate ecclesiastica. Item, Merici Casauboni, I.F. epistolae, dedicationes, praefationes, prolegomena, et tractatus quidam rariores. Curante Theodoro Ianson ab Almeloveen*, Rotterdam, typis Casparis Fritsch et Michaelis Böhm, 1709.

Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 1887

A. Clark, ed. *Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. II (1571–1622), part 1: Introductions, Oxford, 1887.

Cooper and Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1858–1861

C.H. Cooper and T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1858–1861.

DBF

J. Balteau, M. Barroux and M. Prevost, eds, *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 20 vols to date, Paris, 1933–2012.

Erasmus, *Adagia*

Erasmus, *Adagia*, eds, M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk et al., in *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, ordo 2, vols 1–8, Amsterdam, 1981–2005.

James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600

Thomas James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis, tributa in libros duos, quorum prior continet catalogum confusum librorum manuscriptorum in … bibliothecis … duarum … Academiarum, Oxoniae et Cantabrigiae, posterior, catalogum eorundem distinctum et dispositum secundum quatuor facultates*, London, impensis G. Bishop and J. Norton, 1600.

Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling*, 1928–2001

P.C. Molhuysen et al., eds. *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, 17 vols, The Hague, 1928–2001.

Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1913

P.C. Molhuysen, ed. *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, vol. 1, The Hague, 1913.

NDB

Neue deutsche Biographie, 25 vols to date, Berlin, 1953–2013.

NNBW, 1911–1937

P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 10 vols, Leiden, 1911–1937.

ODNB, 2004

H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols, Oxford, 2004.

Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892

M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon 1559–1614*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1892.

Pearsall Smith, *Henry Wotton*, 1907

L. Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1907.

Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1610

Ios. Iusti Scaligeri Iulii Caesaris a Burden filii opuscula varia antehac non edita, Paris, apud Hadrianum Beys, 1610.

Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1612

Ios. Iusti Scaligeri Iulii Caesaris a Burden filii opuscula varia ante hac non edita. Nunc vero multis partibus aucta, Frankfurt, apud Jacobum Fischerum, 1612.

Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627

Illustriss. viri Iosephi Scaligeri, Iulii Caes. a Burden f. epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt, nunc primum collectae ac editae, Leiden, ex officina Bonaventurae et Abrahami Elzevir Academ. typograph., 1627.

Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628

Illustriss. viri Iosephi Scaligeri, Iulii Caes. a Burden f. epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt, nunc primum collectae ac editae, Frankfurt, sumptibus Aubriorum et Clementis Schleichii, 1628.

Scaliger, *Secunda Scaligerana*, 1740

Secunda Scaligerana, in P. Des Maizeaux, ed. *Scaligerana, Thuana, Perroniana, Pithoeana, et Colomesiana. Ou Remarques historiques critiques, morales et litteraires de Jos. Scaliger, J. Aug. de Thou, le Cardinal Du Perron, Fr. Pithou, et P. Colomies. Avec les notes de plusieurs savans*, 2 vols, Amsterdam 1740, 2, pp. 175–626.

Thomson, *Elenchus*, 1610

R. Thomson, *Elenchus refutationis Torturae Torti pro reverendissimo in Christo patre domino Episcopo Eliense, adversus Martinum Becanum Iesuitam*, London, Robert Barker, 1611.

Toepke and Hintzelmann, *Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 1884–1916

G. Toepke and P. Hintzelmann, eds, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 7 vols, Heidelberg, 1884–1916.

Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1922–1927

J. and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses. A biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900. Part 1: From the earliest times to 1751*, 4 vols, Cambridge, 1922–1927.

Venn and Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 1913

J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees: A catalogue of those who have been matriculated or been admitted to any degree in the University of Cambridge from 1544–1659*, Cambridge, 1913.

PART 1

Thomson's Life

∵

CHAPTER 1

Early Life

Richard Thomson was born and raised in Antwerp, at a time when the city was in the frontline of the military and religious confrontation between the Catholic Habsburgs and the Protestant forces of the Dutch Revolt. The date of his birth is unknown, but since he entered the University of Cambridge as an undergraduate student in the summer of 1583, we may guess that he was born around 1569.[1] In any case, the fact that Isaac Casaubon, in a letter to Janus Dousa junior dated August 1594, could call him *adolescens* suggests that he could not have been born much earlier than the late 1560s.[2] That he was born at Antwerp appears from two sources: in the title of his first published work, printed in Germany in 1587, he is described as *Antwerpiensis*;[3] and in a letter from his friend Janus Dousa junior to Justus Lipsius of 1592 his origin is clearly stated.[4]

One parent, apparently his mother, was from Brabant, a portion of the Low Countries which was bitterly contested throughout Thomson's youth by the Habsburgs and the United Provinces. This detail, the only available information about Thomson's mother, appears from a casual and ambiguous comment made by Joseph Scaliger and recorded in the early seventeenth century. Scaliger, who knew Thomson well, said of him: 'Thompson est de père ou de mère angloise ou brabançonne. Il participe de tous les deux'.[5] It is unclear whether the ambiguity of this notice derives from Scaliger's vague understanding of Thomson's background, or from the faulty recollection of those who wrote it down, but Scaliger's observation that Thomson's Anglo-Dutch origins were a formative part of his character is consistent with everything we know about him.

1 For Thomson's time as an undergraduate in Cambridge, see chapter 2, 'Cambridge, 1583–1587' (p. 9).

2 Casaubon to Dousa, 27 August 1594: 'Richardo nostro, quem ego adolescentem iuxta cum oculis meis amo, quid factum sit, et in qua illum quaeram proseucha, ex te scire cupio' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 16, p. 11). At this date, the word 'adolescens' was regularly applied to students in their twenties.

3 For this work, see chapter 3, 'Germany, 1587' (pp. 10–12).

4 'Natus enim est Antwerpiae' (J. De Landtsheer and J. Kluyskens, eds, *Iusti Lipsii epistolae. Pars v: 1592*, Brussels, 1991, From Janus Dousa junior, 20 January 1592).

5 Scaliger, *Secunda Scaligerana*, 1740, p. 384, *s. v.* 'hybridas'. The *Secunda Scaligerana*, first published in 1666, record comments by Scaliger belonging to the years 1604–1606.

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The surname suggests that Thomson's father must have been an Englishman. Circumstantial evidence indicates that he was in fact a merchant named Richard, after whom our Richard Thomson was named. It is plausible that Richard Thomson senior, a Protestant, had moved from England to the Low Countries during the persecutions of the reign of Queen Mary in the 1550s. In any case, the pattern and dates of Richard's father's movements strongly suggest his association with the office of the English Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp. In 1582, as the Habsburgs began to close in on Antwerp, the Company of Merchant Adventurers left the city and established themselves first in Middelburg in The Netherlands, and then, from 1587, in Stade in northern Germany.[6] In the 1590s Thomson senior is to be found living in Stade, and Richard wrote two letters from his father's house there in May 1594.[7] Since there is no mention of Thomson's mother in this context, we may guess that she had died some time before this date.[8] Thomson spent significant sums on travel and books, and may have derived these from his father. As we shall see, other circumstances tend to confirm that his father was a very prosperous merchant.

Thomson spent his early years in Antwerp, studying there under Bonaventura Vulcanius some time between 1577 and 1581.[9] Thomson's parents may have moved to Middelburg with the Merchant Adventurers in 1582, or they may have moved from Antwerp to Germany, as so many Protestants did, during the period of grace decreed by the Habsburg general the Duke of Parma following the fall of the city in August 1585. Perhaps the most likely scenario is that Richard remained in Antwerp, the increasingly beleaguered capital of the Dutch Revolt, until 1583. If so, he would have been able to see the extraordinary celebrations surrounding the entry of the Duke of Anjou and his large English

6 For a contemporary account of the Middelburg office, see John Wheeler, *A treatise of commerce, wherin are shewed the commodies* [*sic*] *arising by a wel ordered, and ruled trade, such as that of the Societie of Merchantes Adventurers is proved to bee, written principallie for the better information of those who doubt of the necessarienes of the said Societie in the state of the realme of Englande*, Middelburg, by Richard Schilders, printer to the states of Zeland, 1601. For the office in Stade, see G.D. Ramsay, 'The Settlement of the Merchants Adventurers at Stade, 1587–1611', in E.I. Kouri and T. Scott, eds, *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe. Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, London, 1987, pp. 452–472.

7 See chapter 10, 'Stade, May 1594' (p. 34).

8 Thomson to Vulcanius, 7 May 1592: 'Stadae prope Hamburgum apud parentem ero' (p. 158); Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594: 'Iam domi sum apud parentem' (p. 184).

9 Thomson's studies under Vulcanius appear from a passing reference in a letter written thirty years later: see Thomson to Casaubon, 21 July 1607 (p. 317).

entourage into the city in February 1582.[10] The following year Richard was sent to England to study at Cambridge. No doubt England seemed like a much safer place than the Low Countries during the turbulent 1580s. During his time as an undergraduate in England, his home city of Antwerp was taken by Spanish Habsburg troops in August 1585. Parma's treatment of the fallen city was much more lenient than anyone had reason to expect, but it was nonetheless a traumatic event for its citizens. The same month, Elizabeth agreed to commit English troops to the war in the Low Countries against Spain. This reconstruction of Thomson's early years supplies a context from which a radical Protestant identity might emerge.

Thomson had at least one brother. An unnamed brother is mentioned in a letter of 1594, at which time he seems to have been living in northern Germany.[11] Richard, planning his return to England, anticipated that this brother would remain behind in Germany. A brother named Emanuel, probably the same person, outlived Richard and dealt with his affairs after his death in 1613.[12] Richard seems to have been the eldest son, bearing his father's name; the Protestant Christian name Emanuel was bestowed on the younger boy. No Emanuel Thomson is recorded among the *alumni* of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and his name does not appear in the records of the German or Dutch universities. It is, however, an unusual name, particularly in Germany, and circumstantial evidence allows him to be identified with the Emanuel Thomson who made two influential translations into German of English works, the second under the pseudonym Emanuel Sonthom.[13] This Emanuel was the son of an English merchant, and he was to be found living in Stade in August

10 For a detailed account, see J. Nichols, ed. *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols, London, 1823, 2, pp. 354–385.

11 See Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594 (p. 184).

12 This appears from the probate records for February 1613: 'Duodecimo die emanavit commissio Emanueli Thomson fratri naturali et ultimo Richardi Thomson nuper de Snailwell in comitatu Cantabrigiae … ad administrandum bona iura et credita dicti defuncti …' (London, Public Record Office, PROB 6/8, fol. 85^{v}).

13 Emanuel published his German version of the *Basilikon doron* of James I: *Das königlich Geschenke: dess grossmechtigsten und christlichsten Königs, Iacobi dess Nahmens der Erste, König in Engeland, Schottland, Franckreich und Irrland …. Aus dem englischen Exemplar getrewlich verteutschet durch Emanuel Thomson*, Hamburg, Philip von Ohr, 1604. Emanuel's translation of Robert Parsons' and Edmund Bunny's *Booke of Christian Exercise* was made during a stay in Danzig: *Güldenes Kleinot der Kinder Gottes: Das ist, Der wahre Weg zum Christenthum. Auss d. Engl. an Tag gegeben, durch Emanuelem Sonthom*, Frankfurt, Palthenius, 1612. The preface is dated 30 May 1611.

1599.[14] In 1603, Emanuel wrote that he came to Stade in 1587, that is, when the Merchant Adventurers relocated to the city.[15] Other information allows Emanuel to be identified with the English merchant of that name who died in 1623, tortured and executed in the Dutch East Indies, a victim of the notorious 'Amboyna massacre'. The circumstances of events on the island of Amboyna are well documented, and the connection supplies us with Emanuel's place of birth, Hamburg, and allows the approximate year of his birth to be calculated: he was 50 at the time of his death in March 1623, and so he must have been born about 1573.[16]

Richard and Emanuel had a sister, Abigail. She and Richard received their letters of denizenship in May 1596, and after her brother's death in 1613 she was executor of his estate and had to deal with his creditors.[17] At this date Abigail was married to Henry Billingsley, and German church records show that they married in Stade in October 1596.[18] That Abigail Billingsley was the brother of Emanuel Thomson, and hence of our Richard, also appears from a petition which the Billingsleys addressed to the King on behalf of the late Emanuel in February 1628.[19] Abigail married very well, and her father must have been in

14 Emanuel joined the Reformed Church in Stade on 18 August 1599. See K.J. Höltgen, 'Die Lösung des alten Rätsels: Emanuel Sonthom, das *Güldene Kleinod* und das englische Original', *Anglia*, 100, 1982, pp. 357–372, p. 363; *isdem*, 'Wer war Emanuel Sonthom?', *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 7, 1983, pp. 154–156; E.C. McKenzie, *British Devotional Literature and the Rise of German Pietism*, 2 vols, University of St Andrews doctoral thesis, 1984, 1, p. 178. Höltgen identified Emanuel Sonthon with Emanuel Thomson.

15 Emanuel Thomson, *Das königlich Geschenke* (this chapter, note 13), 1604, preface. In this preface, dated 18 October 1603, Emanuel writes that he has lived in Stade for 16 years.

16 An English translation of the Dutch record of Emanuel's confession reads: 'The confession of Emanuel Thompson English merchant in Amboyna, borne in Hamburrough, of the age of 50 yeares' (*An authentick copy of the acts of the processe against the English at Amboyna. Translated out of the copy, delivered to the English East India Company, from the Dutch*, London, 1632, p. 27).

17 For the denizenship, see chapter 11, 'England, June 1594–August? 1596' (p. 45). For her role as executor, see Cambridge, University Library, Vice-Chancellor's Court Records, VCCt. III.8, item no. 40, where Billingsley is mistakenly referred to as 'Billingsby'.

18 'The marriage of Abigail Thomson, daughter of Richard Thomson, to Henry Billingslé at Stade on 17 October 1596 is recorded (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Deutsche reformierte Gemeinde VB b 2a [Stader Kirchenbuch 1588–1619], fol. 4^b)' (E.C. McKenzie, *British Devotional Literature and the Rise of German Pietism*, 2 vols, University of St Andrews doctoral thesis, 1984, 1, p. 178, n. 2). I have not been able to see the Hamburg manuscript. This is the only evidence that our Richard's father was also named Richard. For the wedding, see chapter 12, 'Geneva, October? 1596–April 1597' (pp. 46–47).

19 The document is summarised in W.N. Sainsbury, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*

a position to provide her with a substantial dowry, for her husband was the eldest son of Sir Henry Billingsley, Lord Mayor of London in 1596, and a rich and influential merchant.[20] Of more interest for our researches into Richard Thomson is the fact that Sir Henry, like the Thomson brothers, was a translator: he had made English versions of Pietro Martire Vermigli's Latin commentary on St Paul by 1568, and of Euclid's Greek *Elements* by 1570. Both translations were published long before Richard was in any position to take an interest in such matters, but he may subsequently have been able to examine Sir Henry's composite volume of Euclid, now preserved in Princeton University Library.[21] When Sir Henry died in 1606, Abigail's husband, now also a knight of the realm, inherited his property of Liston in Gloucestershire. This connection of Richard Thomson with the Billingsleys makes him a member of an influential and wealthy network.[22]

That Richard had a brother Emanuel and a sister Abigail is certain. He may also have had another brother, Thomas. One Thomas Thomson, an Englishman and the son of Richard, enrolled in the Walloon Reformed church in Stade in 1589.[23] Our Richard Thomson had no children, so Thomas may have been son of Richard Thomson senior and thus brother to Richard and Emanuel. That a Thomas Thomson was closely connected to the Thomson family in Stade in the 1590s appears from another document. When Abigail's husband Henry Billingsley was confined in Stade for debts in 1597, Thomas offered to take his place in prison while he returned to England to collect funds. Emanuel Thomson is mentioned in the next sentence and the two men must be related.[24]

Series, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625–1629, London, 1884 (Kraus reprint 1964), p. 417, no. 610.

20 For his biography, see A. McConnell, 'Billingsley, Sir Henry (*d.* 1606)', ODNB, 2004, 5, pp. 726–727.

21 For a description of the volume, see R.C. Archibald, 'The First Translation of Euclid's Elements into English and its Source', *American Mathematical Monthly*, 57, 1950, pp. 443–452.

22 The records of the Vice-Chancellor's Court (this chapter, note 17) show that Abigail Billingsley was the sister of Richard Thomson; the State Papers (this chapter, note 19) show that the same Abigail was brother of Emanuel Thomson.

23 K.J. Höltgen (this chapter, note 14), p. 363.

24 'Thomas Thomson is contented to remayne prisoner for hym tyll hys returne, but I thynke the creditors wyll not accept hym. Emanuell Thomson is alsoe absente from home and gone for England …' (Lowe to Quarles, 3 November 1597, Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fol. 237^{r}).

Richard Thomson is commonly dubbed 'Dutch Thomson' by the biographical sources. Dousa's letter to Lipsius, noticed above, calls him *Anglobelga* in 1592, but the earliest use of the nickname 'Dutch' in print goes back no further than the middle of the seventeenth century.[25] An account of the life of Nicholas Ferrar, apparently composed by the Bishop of Ely Francis Turner in the second half of the seventeenth century, lists among the learned men of Clare Hall in Ferrar's day 'Dutch Thomson, as we quote him still at Cambridge'.[26] We appear to be in the presence of an oral tradition, and there is no reason to doubt that this phrase was used of Thomson during his lifetime. Indeed, the fact that there was another fellow of Clare Hall named Richard Tomson, an exact contemporary of our Dutch Thomson, is likely to have given rise to the distinguishing epithet.[27] Thomson certainly identified himself as both Dutch and English. In the second work published during his lifetime, of 1611, Thomson writes: 'you know the proverb which circulates here about us Brabançons …'. A little later in the same work he writes: 'we are much prettier in our English tongue …'.[28] As a staunch member of the Protestant commonwealth, and an active citizen of the international republic of letters, his dual nationality seems to have caused him no anxiety whatsoever.

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25 Thomas Hill's preface to the reader in W. Fenner, *The Works*, London, 1651, sig. A4v.

26 J.S. Hawkins, ed. *Ignoramus, Comoedia; scriptore Georgio Ruggle, A.M. Aulae Clarenses apud Cantabrigienses olim Socio*, London, 1787, p. ix, note. Ruggle was baptised in 1575, and a fellow at Clare Hall from 1598 until 1620. His *Ignoramus* was performed in 1615, two years after Thomson's death. See D.K. Money, 'Ruggle, George (bap. 1575, d. 1621/2)', ODNB, 2004, 48, pp. 101–103. Ferrar graduated B.A. from Cambridge in 1610.

27 The existence of two Richard Thomsons at Cambridge has been doubted, but the different signatures of both 'Tomson' and 'Thomson' on the same letter put the matter beyond doubt: see the Fellows of Clare Hall to Robert Cecil, 25 December 1599 (pp. 221–222). Both Cambridge Thomsons are to be distinguished from the contemporary merchant of the same name, for whom see B. Morgan, 'Tomson, Richard (fl. 1582–1600)', ODNB, 2004, 54, pp. 956–957. A letter of 1599 in the distinctive hand of Tomson the merchant is in Hatfield, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 70/30.

28 'Nosti proverbium quod de Brabantis nostris istic circumferatur …' (Thomson, *Elenchus*, 1611, p. 28); 'nos in Anglico nostro idiomate belliores longe sumus …' (ibid., p. 33). Later he writes: 'Brillen Brillen Antuerpia tibi petendum est' (ibid., p. 61). The meaning of this is obscure. For the work, see chapter 25, 'Thomson's *Elenchus*, 1611' (pp. 117–121).

CHAPTER 2

Cambridge, 1583–1587

Thomson's father must have been a Protestant to want to send his son to England for his education. In 1583, on 26 June, Richard matriculated as sizar at Clare Hall, Cambridge. The status of sizar, a student who received some support towards his attendance at the University, might indicate that Thomson's means were relatively modest at this date. If he were of a similar age to his contemporaries, he would have been about fourteen years old at this date. We know nothing of his undergraduate years. He obtained his Bachelor's degree in 1587 and his Master's degree in 1591.[1] He must be distinguished from an exact contemporary of the same name, who appears to have obtained his Bachelor's degree at Trinity College in 1587–1588 and his Master's degree (like his namesake) in 1591.[2] By the time our Thomson was granted his Master's degree in 1591, he had spent a further period of time on the continent.

1 'Thompson, Richard. Matric. sizar from Clare, Easter, 1583. B.A. 1587–1588; M.A. 1591. Fellow. Senior Proctor, 1612–1613. Incorp. at Oxford 1596. Biblical Scholar. R. of Snailwell, Cambs., 1612–1613' (Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1922–1927, 4, p. 226); 'upon migrating to England, he matriculated as sizar at Clare College, Cambridge, on 26 June 1583' (ODNB, 2004, 54, p. 549).

2 See W.W. Rouse Ball and J.A. Venn, *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge*, 5 vols, London, 1911–1916, 2, p. 163: 'Richard Tomson, of whom there is no record of matriculation at Trinity College, Cambridge, was B.A. there 1587–1588, and M.A. 1591'. This appears to be the 'Richard Tomson' who, as a fellow of Clare Hall, signed a letter from the Fellows of Clare Hall to Robert Cecil, 25 December 1599 (pp. 221–222). The signature of our Richard 'Dutch' Thomson is directly beneath his.

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CHAPTER 3

Germany, 1587

It seems that immediately after his graduation at Cambridge in 1587, Thomson returned to Germany, probably to his father's house. Thomson senior was living in Stade near Hamburg in May 1592.[1] He is described as an old man in this letter, 'senex iam et aetate provecta'.

To this period in Germany belongs the earliest published work attributed to Thomson, a contribution to a theological debate which began in Rostock.[2] Thomson wrote a public letter, dated at Emden in April 1587, in support of his fellow student of theology, Christoph Stendal. Stendal is identified in this work as a native of Perleberg, a city about 120 kilometres south of Rostock, and he is named as a friend and formerly a fellow student ('amicus et condiscipulus olim suus') in Thomson's prefatory matter.[3] It seems that Stendal, a student at Rostock, had publicly contested the position on the eucharist maintained by eminent theologians at the university. Stendal's account of this debate circulated in manuscript before being committed to print.[4] The first work in

1 See Thomson to Vulcanius, 7 May 1592.

2 *Ad declarationem theologorum Rostochiensium, de Colloquio inter ipsos et Christophorum Stendalium Perlebergensem, bonarum artium et theologiae studiosum habito; responsio Richardi Thomsonis Antwerpiensis .... Inserta est etiam narratio actionum eiusdem Richardi Thomsonis cum collega Heshusii iunioris Til. fil. de eodem argumento*, [Emden], [1587]. This work is not mentioned in J.D. Moore, 'Thomson, Richard (d. 1613)', ODNB, 2004, 54, pp. 549–550.

3 Stendal matriculated at the University of Rostock in April 1585 (A. Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock, II. Mich. 1499–Ost. 1611*, Rostock, 1891, p. 215). He defended his theses at the University of Heidelberg the following summer: *De statu filii Dei incarnati, seu Christi θεανθρώπου duplici, altero humiliationis, altero exaltationis, theses theologicae, de quibus 20 et 27 Augusti hora 7 in auditorio theologorum disputabitur. Praeside Georgio Sohn, Theol. Doct. et Professore. Respondente Christophoro Stendalio Berlebergensi*, Neustadt an der Weinstrasse, excudebat Mattheus Harnisch, 1586.

4 'Lectori candido s. Pervenit in plurimorum manus hoc scriptum, continens narrationem colloquii cuiusdam, habiti inter theologos quosdam Rostochienses et adolescentem quendam studiosum, Academiae illius alumnum, vocatum ad causam dicendam de controversia eucharistiae. A quo quidem ipso apparet, memoriae causa, in chartas hoc scriptum relatum, et vel per ipsum, vel per alios, qui forte ex eius autographo descripserunt, ad plures longe lateque sparsum ac propagatum esse. Cum autem non unum aut alterum, sed plura exemplaria inter se collata ... prorsus inter se, quod ad sententiae summam attinet, congruerent, et multi ad laborem describendi levandum, copiam sibi huius scripti per typographum com-

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the volume is an account of this debate, an 'expositio summaria', presented in the form of a dialogue. The debate is led by Lucas Backmeister, who was rector of the university six times from 1563 to 1591, and it is punctuated by Stendal's replies. Backmeister opposes the student's position on the eucharist, and enlists the support of another senior colleague, Valentin Schacht, who was rector of the university four times from 1570 to 1588.[5] Stendal evidently believes that his position on the eucharist is prevailing as the dialogue progresses, although the older men remain defiant.

The next work bound in this volume, apparently from the same press, is Thomson's *Responsio*. This was said to be a prelude to a more extensive theological treatise by Stendal on the same subject, although Stendal's treatise seems not to have been printed.[6] Thomson's portion of the volume is cast in the form of a long letter to Stendal.[7] It describes how Thomson attended a lecture by the son of the controversial Lutheran theologian Heshussen Tilemann. This lecture seemed very unsatisfactory to the young Thomson, and he lists in this open letter fourteen *quaestiones* which he believes require an answer. He goes on to describe his unsuccessful attempts to obtain satisfaction on these points either from Tilemann's son or from his colleague.[8]

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municari peterent, visum est citra cuiusquam iniuriam aut praeiudicium typis publicis hoc scriptum subiicere' (Stendal (this chapter, note 2), sig. A2r).

5 Backmeister speaks: 'Rogavi hesterno die compatrem meum magistrum Valentinum, ut hodie ad me accederet; quam ob caussam etiam ad te, Christophore, misi cursorem ut coram nobis compareres. Et non ignoras quid hactenus tecum egerim, quam fideliter te admonuerim, ut ab errore isto sacramentario desisteres. Sed vereor frustra me laborasse … BACM. Innuebat Schachtio, ut is me aggrederetur. SCH. Tu satis audacter loqueris, et facile apparet ex tuo sermone te totum et integrum esse fascinatum …' (Stendal (this chapter, note 2), sig. B8r).

6 It is entitled: 'Responsio Richardi Thomson Antwerpiensis, ut sit πρόδρομος uberioris refutationis, paullo post edendae ab ipso Christophoro Stendalio. Inserta est etiam narratio actionum eiusdem Richardi Thomsonis cum collega Heshusii Iunioris Til. fil. de eodem argumento. Unde quis sit hodie status de controversia coenae Domini, et utra pars veritatem quaerat, evidentissime intelligi potest'.

7 This open letter is really a treatise, and as such it is not edited among Thomson's correspondence in the present book.

8 'Ac ut mihi his in locis acciderit, tu quoque et alii cogoscatis, paucis sic accipe. Fueram auditor cuiusdam concionis Heshusii Iunioris, Til. filii, qui Embdae nunc docet. In qua cum multa ille adversus orthodoxam veritatis doctrinam dixisset, compellare eum decreveram sequenti concione. Verum non ab ipso, sed a collega eius tum habita fuit. Accedo igitur hominem; significo me cupere in colloquium venire cum Heshusio de quibusdam quae non satis assecutus essem in proxima eius concione. Ille extra urbem eum esse ait, et se ipsius nomine ad colloquium offert. Verum non longo inter nos commutato sermone, abrumpit ille colloquium, et

This edition of Thomson's first published work bears no location, no colophon, and has no date on the title page, but such an ephemeral work must have been printed not long after it was written. This short volume of seventy-six pages is now exceedingly rare. There seems to be a single copy extant in the United Kingdom, and not many more surviving worldwide. This copy, now in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, carries no marks of ownership, and no marginalia.[9] There were probably never many copies of this work in England, and it is possible that this copy was Thomson's own, brought back with him from Germany.[10] There is a tone of condescension on the part of these young students to their seniors that may have made this monument to Thomson's youthful engagement in religious polemic a slightly embarrassing one.

In fact, were it not for the identifier *Antwerpiensis* in the title page of this essay, we might have suspected that it was composed by another man of the same name. Thomson was certainly very young to be involving himself in printed controversy on such matters, although his friend Stendal seems not to have been much older. In the absence of this piece of juvenilia, we might have been tempted to see in Thomson's life a conversion from a dissolute youth devoted to classical antiquity to a serious concern with theology in his maturity. This overlooked volume demonstrates that a keen interest in theology, and a willingness to involve himself in controversy, were among his studies, and his inclinations, from a very early age.

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ut scripto secum agam postulat. Obtuli ergo ei quaestiones sequentes, easque breviter tum delineatas, ad quas vel viva voce, vel scripto responderet, quarum sententiam paullo pluribus verbis nunc repetam, ne quid in ambiguo relinquere voluisse videar'. [fourteen *quaestiones* follow] 'Expectas, forte, quid responsi tulerim. Missurum se illa Heshusio ait, qui octiduo post respondit, sed hac conditione, ne epistola mihi legenda traderetur donec ipse in urbem veniret. Legit tamen ille a me rogatus aliqua, sed nihil ea, nisi convitia, nisi execrationes erant …' (Thomson (this chapter, note 2), sigs A2v–A4r).

9 Cambridge, St John's College, shelfmark Hh.1.85 (2).

10 I found no marginalia in any of the eight works bound together in this volume. None is later than 1587.

CHAPTER 4

Leiden, 1588–1591?

At some point after his graduation from Cambridge, and probably after spending some time at his father's house in Stade, Thomson went to Leiden. He may have studied there under the great Dutch scholar Bonaventura Vulcanius. The evidence for this derives from the envelope of Thomson's first extant letter to Vulcanius, dated 29 December 1591, which is addressed 'to his esteemed teacher', 'praeceptori observando'.[1] However, since we know that Vulcanius taught Thomson as a boy in Antwerp, their relationship in Leiden may not have been a formal one of student-teacher.

The University of Leiden was still a very recent foundation when Thomson arrived, younger than many of its students. Prince William of Orange had established it in 1575 as a centre of Protestant learning in the newly independent Dutch state, a rival to the Catholic University of Leuven further south. It rapidly attracted some of the finest scholars of the day.[2] Justus Lipsius taught there from 1579 until his departure in 1591.[3] Vulcanius, formally appointed in 1578, arrived to teach Greek at the University in 1581.[4] In Leiden Thomson became friends with James Ramsay, a Scot who had matriculated in Law at Leiden in 1588 and subsequently taught Aristotelian logic there.[5] Thomson's letter of 1591 conveys his regards to Ramsay, and he sends them again in his next letter to Vulcanius of May 1592.[6] Ramsay's death in May 1593 brought this friendship to an end.[7] Thomson's relationship with Johannes Drusius, well-established by

1 This letter is edited in part 2 (pp. 154–156).

2 For the teaching staff at Leiden during the 1590s, see *Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, pp. ix (Theology), xviii (Law), xxvi (Medicine), xxxvii–xli (Philosopy and Arts).

3 *Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, p. xl.

4 *Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, p. xl.

5 *Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, col. 23.

6 This letter is edited in part 2 (pp. 156–158).

7 Ramsay died 21 May. His death appears to have been sudden and unexpected, for Jeremias Bastingius (Bastinck) who wrote to him in Leiden, apparently from Dordrecht, on 17 May 1593 had no inkling of any problem. Bastinck's autograph letter is Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105, fol. 3^{r-v}. For Ramsay's career at Leiden, see the typescript volume held at the Warburg Institute, London: H.J. Witkam, De dagelijkse zaken van de Leidse universiteit van 1581 tot 1596, vol. 5, 1973, pp. 70–73. In July 1593 Pierre Du Moulin (Molinaeus) was appointed his successor as professor of logic: see Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1913, pp. 54, 59, 69, 71, 72, 75, 76, 192*, 248*, 460*.

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1595, may also have begun during this period.[8] Drusius had studied and taught at Oxford and Cambridge in the 1570s, and was appointed professor of Oriental Languages at Leiden in 1577. He left to take up a post at the newly founded University of Franeker in 1585, before Thomson's arrival. Drusius' post at Leiden was filled by Franciscus Raphelengius, and we may guess that Thomson learned at least some of his Hebrew from him.[9] Thomson was able to persuade the great scholar-printer Raphelengius to publish the work of the Englishman John Hopkinson, the *Paradisi descriptio*.[10] Thomson had become very familiar with academic life at Leiden in the years immediately before Joseph Scaliger arrived in the city.

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8 Unidentified letters from Thomson to Drusius were extant among the latter's papers at his death in Franeker in 1616: see A. Curiander, *Vitae operumque Ioh. Drusii*, Franeker, excudebat Fredericus Heynsius, 1616, p. 30.

9 See chapter 23, 'Thomson's Hebrew' (pp. 109–113).

10 John Hopkinson, *Synopsis Paradisi, sive Paradisi descriptio, ex variis diversarum tum linguarum, tum aetatum scriptoribus desumpta, cum chorographica eiusdem tabula*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1593. It was prepared for publication posthumously by Hopkinson's friend John Johnston, a Scot who matriculated at Rostock in 1584 and at Helmstadt in 1585: see J. Derrick McClure, 'Johnston, John (c. 1565–1611)', ODNB, 2004, 30, pp. 373–374; A. Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock, II. Mich. 1499–Ost. 1611*, Rostock, 1891, p. 213. He matriculated at Heidelberg on 13 April 1587 (Toepke and Hintzelmann, *Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 1884–1916, 2, p. 133).

CHAPTER 5

England, 1591–May 1592

Thomson must have returned to England in 1591, for that year he was granted his Master's degree at Cambridge. He wrote two surviving letters to Vulcanius from London on 29 December 1591 and 7 May 1592, and seems to have spent time in Cambridge between these dates.[1] The letters may well coincide with his arrival in England and his departure for the continent some months later. They demonstrate a very literary set of concerns: Thomson has read Vulcanius' edition of the brief pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De mundo*; he talks of Philo, apparently a manuscript; and he indicates that he has a manuscript of Isidore of Seville. These two letters also provide evidence that Thomson moved in some very interesting circles.

From this first letter we learn that Thomson had recently been at Whitaker's, apparently William Whitaker, then master of St John's College, and a man of strong puritan sympathies. In the second letter, Thomson sends greetings from Andrew Downes and John Overall. Downes, at this date Regius professor of Greek, had supported Whitaker's application for the mastership of St John's College. Overall was made *Praelector Graecus* in 1586 and, by 1588, *Praelector Mathematicus* at Trinity College. Thomson's early friendship with Overall is further attested by the gift of a copy of Gregory of Nazianzen, inscribed by Thomson to his friend some time before 1596.[2]

In the first of these letters we also find him in contact with a man named Dekker, recently arrived from Leiden, whom Thomson appears to have known in Holland. Because the name is relatively rare in England, we may be tempted to identify this man with the playwright Thomas. Thomas Dekker's early life is obscure, and Thomson's Anglo-Dutch literary set is precisely the sort of context in which we might expect to find him. However, the man in question must be the theologian Conrad Dekker. Conrad had matriculated at the University of Heidelberg in 1585, and was still there in 1590.[3] He went on to matriculate in the-

1 Both letters are edited in the present volume: Thomson to Vulcanius, 29 December 1591 and 7 May 1592 (pp. 154–156, 156–158).

2 Basle, Hervagius, 1550. The copy, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, shelfmark B.1.4, is inscribed: 'Richardus Thomson Humaniss. Overalio φίλιον'. For details, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 5.

3 'Conradus Decker Aquisgranensis' (that is, of Aachen) matriculated at Heidelberg on 25 October 1585: see Toepke and Hintzelmann, *Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 1884–1916,

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ology at Leiden in May 1591 and presented his theses at Leiden on 6 December, the only Dekker to be named in the university records during the 1590s.[4] From London, he travelled on to Cambridge, where he heard William Whitaker lecturing on the controversy with Cardinal Bellarmine.[5] Isaac Harderet, a French student visiting London in 1592, believed that Dekker was in Cambridge in April.[6]

From another source, we learn that Thomson encouraged his Cambridge contemporary, William Alabaster, to write a poem to Janus Dousa junior, apparently late in 1591.[7] The friendship between Thomson and Dousa, the son of the Janus Dousa who had been Curator of Leiden University since its foundation, is attested in a warm letter from Thomson of 1593.[8] Both men were of approx-

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2, p. 120. In 1590 he is recorded among the 'theologiae studiosi in Domo Sapientiae degentes' (ibid., p. 552).

4 For the matriculation at Leiden, see *Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, col. 30. He is described there as 'Juliacensis', from Jülich in Germany. Dekker of Aachen and Dekker of Jülich are the same person: 'Terra enim Iuliacensis me genuit, Aquisgranensis vero me educavit, et suo gremio aliquandiu fovit' (C. Dekker, ed. *Tractatus de proprietatibus Iesuitarum ... cui accesserunt praelectiones aliquot a doctissimo viro Gulielmo Whitakero*, Oppenheim, typis Hieronymi Galleri, 1611, sig.)(7v). His theses were printed in 1591: C. Dekker, *Theses de Primis rerum naturalium principiis ex I libro physicorum Aristotelis*, Leiden, Franciscus I Raphelengius, 1591 (A. Pettegree and M. Walsby, eds, *Netherlandish books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601*, 2 vols, Leiden, 2011, 1, p. 417, no. 9487). For the date of the presentation, see P.C. Molhuysen, *Album promotorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575–1812*, The Hague, 1913–1924, p. 462*. By 1611, he was teaching at the University of Heidelberg; he died in 1620.

5 'Cum in peregrinatione mea studiorum gratia suscepta tandem in Cantabrigiensem Academiam me contulissem, ibidem me doctissimi theologi Gulielmi Whitakeri, piae memoriae, Bellarminianas controversias eo tempore tractantis, attentum et assiduum praebui auditorem ...' (C. Dekker, ed. *Tractatus de proprietatibus Iesuitarum ... cui accesserunt praelectiones aliquot a doctissimo viro Gulielmo Whitakero*, Oppenheim, typis Hieronymi Galleri, 1611, sig.)(8v). Conrad's visit was probably in 1591, but in any case before Whitaker's death in 1595. He missed the begining of Whitaker's course of lectures: see ibid., sig. 2)(1v. The possibility that Thomas Dekker was related to Conrad has not, to my knowledge, been explored.

6 Harderet to Vulcanius, 1 April [1592]: 'Dekker, ut opinor, Cantabrigiae' (Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105:1).

7 Janus Dousa junior to J. Lipsius, 20 January 1592: 'mitto specimen epigramma ad Guilielmum Alibastrum ... iuvenem sane doctum, quum is mihi oden perelegantem scripsisset hortatu Richardi Thomsonis Anglobelgae (natus enim est Antwerpiae), adolescentis antiquas literas ac linguas non incuriose docti' (J. De Landtsheer and J. Kluyskens, eds, *Iusti Lipsii epistolae. Pars v: 1592*, Brussels, 1991, p. 82).

8 This letter is Thomson to Janus Dousa junior, 23 September 1593 (pp. 162–164).

imately the same age.[9] Alabaster too was an exact contemporary: he had gone up to Cambridge in 1583, the same year as Thomson, both men graduated B.A. the same year, and both proceeded to M.A. in 1591. Alabaster's Latin play *Roxana* seems to have been first acted in Cambridge at Trinity College in 1591 or 1592, and Thomson's attendance at this performance, though unattested, is likely.[10] He appears to have been in Cambridge in 1591 when Alabaster discussed his poetry with Edmund Spenser. Alabaster and Thomson maintained their friendship for a number of years afterwards, for in a letter of July 1594, written by Thomson in Cambridge to the historian William Camden, Thomson passes on Alabaster's greetings.[11] Alabaster's acquaintance with Camden, we should note, certainly predated his friendship with Thomson: in 1583 Alabaster had been one of the Queen's scholars from Westminster School to Trinity College. Camden had been second master at Westminster school while Alabaster studied there, and was headmaster there from 1593–1597.[12] Jan Gruter, writing from Frankfurt, believed that Camden was in contact with Thomson in 1592, for in April of that year he asked Camden to remember him to his old friend.[13]

Thomson may have made another influential friend during this period in Cambridge. Pierre du Moulin, a man of approximately the same age as Thomson, studied at Cambridge during the years 1589–1592 and, like Conrad Dekker, is known to have attended Whitaker's lectures.[14] Du Moulin was employed

9 Janus Dousa junior was born 16 January 1571.

10 For the date of this performance, see *Thomas Watson: Antigone; William Alabaster: Roxana; Peter Mease: Adrastus parentans sive vindicta*; intro. J.C. Coldewey and B.F. Copenhaver, Hildesheim, 1987, p. 9.

11 Alabaster composed verses to Camden, printed in Camden, *Epistolae*, 1691, p. 389. For his biography, see F.J. Bremer, 'Alabaster, William (1568–1640)', ODNB, 2004, 1, pp. 554–556.

12 'Alabaster was also working on an epic poem in praise of Queen Elizabeth, the 'Elisaeis' (never completed), which he showed to … Edmund Spenser when [he] visited Cambridge in 1591. … In 1595 he played a prominent role in a set of academic disputations organized by the earl of Essex for the Cambridge commencement. In 1596 he was appointed catechist at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the same year joined the earl of Essex as a chaplain on the Cadiz expedition' (ODNB, 2004, 1, p. 554).

13 Gruter, from Frankfurt, 14 April 1592: 'Quod si etiam per occasiones officia mea insinuaveris non novo amico sed plurium annorum, hoc est, notae melioris, domino Savilio et domino Thomsono, erit id animo meo oppido gratum' (Camden, *Epistolae*, 1691, p. 47). The identification of this Thomson with our Richard is mine. Gruter matriculated at the University of Rostock in April 1586 (A. Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock, II. Mich. 1499–Ost. 1611*, Rostock, 1891, p. 218).

14 J. van der Meij, 'Pierre du Moulin in Leiden, 1592–1598', *Lias*, 14, 1987, pp. 15–40, p. 16; ODND, 17, 2004, pp. 189–194.

to attend on Roger Manners, the fifth Earl of Rutland, then a student at Corpus Christi College. Du Moulin set sail for Leiden in September 1592 and was teaching at the University the following year. If Thomson did not meet him in Cambridge—and there is no evidence that he did—then he certainly knew him by 1593. Du Moulin lived from 1 September 1593 until 1 May 1594 with Joseph Scaliger in the Schoolsteeg. He resigned his post at Leiden in 1598, and the following year became a minister and chaplain to Catherine de Bourbon, the staunchly Protestant sister of Henri IV. As we shall see, in 1594 Du Moulin lent his support to Thomson's case for a position at the University of Leiden.[15]

A letter to Scaliger of April 1592 from the poet Dominicus Baudius, then at Caen, shows Baudius forwarding, rather tardily, a *libellus* and letter from Thomson to Scaliger. Baudius had received these items at Caen, though it is not stated, and may be doubted, that he received them from Thomson in person.[16] Thomson's contact with Scaliger thus certainly predates Scaliger's move from France to his new home in Leiden in August 1593. Scaliger seems to have replied to Baudius' letter at the beginning of June 1592, and from this reply it seems that Thomson had sent Scaliger a chronological work in English.[17] The work must be an English version of a portion of the Latin chronological work of the French Calvinist Matthieu Béroalde, first published in 1575. This slim volume, *A Short View of the Persian Monarchie and of Daniels Weekes*, had been recently printed in London in 1590. Scaliger had some difficulty understanding a book written in English, but it remained in his library until his death.[18]

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15 Du Moulin (1568–1658) was *conrector* of the Latin school in 1593, *repetitor* of Greek in the theological State College, *professor extraordinarius* of logic in 1593, and *professor extraordinarius* of physics in 1595. For his life, see C.G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1750–1751, 3, col. 593; Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1913, pp. 112–113; H.J. de Jonge, 'Leerlingen van Scaliger', in P.G. Hoftijzer, ed. *Adelaar in de wolken: De Leidse jaren van Josephus Justus Scaliger 1593–1609*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 135–137, p. 137, n. 1. Du Moulin's letter to Dousa senior which mentions Thomson is discussed in chapter 11, 'England, June 1594–August? 1596' (p. 36).

16 'Mitto ad te libellum et literas a Richardo Thomsonio, quas Cadomi iampridem acceperam, sed mittere distuli …' (Baudius to Scaliger, 29 April 1592; Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 242).

17 Scaliger's reply to Baudius of 2 May [1592] is in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 243–245: 'Chronologiam Anglicam quam mihi a Richardo Tomsonio Anglo misisti, vellem equidem plane intelligerem. Nunc oblitae mihi tot dialecti. "Vox quoque Moerim ipsa fugit". Odorabor tamen quod potero. Et videor iam deprehendisse in illo chronologo φιλαυτίαν quandam; et, nisi me fallit coniectura, est ex illis qui novos reges Persarum in Daniele, in Apocalypsi portenta deprehendunt'.

18 A copy of this book is in the catalogue of the auction of Scaliger's library: *The Auction*

Thus by 1592 we find Thomson in contact with Alabaster, Baudius, Camden, Dekker, Janus Dousa junior, Downes, Gruter, Overall, Scaliger, Vulcanius and Whitaker. This is a very promising list of acquaintances for an aspiring and talented young man.

Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 44, under 'Libri Anglici': '*A short view of Daniels Weekes*, etc. London. 90'. Mayor was mistaken in his belief that the English chronologer noticed in Scaliger's letter to Baudius of 2 May [1592] (see previous note) is Edward Lively (J.E.B. Mayor, 'Richard Thomson of Clare Hall', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, 9, Jan. – June 1860, pp. 155–157, and pp. 237–240, p. 238). Lively's only printed 'chronological' work was published in 1597: *A true Chronologie of the times of the Persian Monarchie, and after to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romanes. Wherein by the way briefly is handled the day of Christ his birth; with a declaration of the Angel Gabriels message to Daniel in the end of his 9. chap., against the frivolous conceits of M. Beroald*, London, Felix Kingston, for T. Man, J. Porter and R. Jacson, 1597.

CHAPTER 6

Germany, May 1592–April 1593

By May 1592, Thomson was warning Vulcanius of his imminent departure from England for his father's house in Stade.[1] He seems to have been summoned unexpectedly by his elderly father. He does not talk of the possibility of meeting Vulcanius soon, a circumstance which suggests that he did not travel to Germany via the Low Countries, but rather that he boarded a ship travelling directly from London to Stade. He appears to have written of his intention to his fellow student at Leiden Janus Dousa junior in a letter now lost. In any case, Dousa wrote to Paulus Melissus, poet and director of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg, to ensure that his friend would be well received in that city.[2] Dousa's letter to Melissus has not come to light, but Melissus reassured him in July that Thomson would receive a warm welcome.[3] Clearly Thomson had not yet arrived at this date, and was very likely still at his father's house.

Thomson had certainly reached Heidelberg by the autumn, for on 31 October 1592 he matriculated at the University.[4] Dousa's letter of recommendation to Melissus must have been intended to secure Thomson access to the Palatine Library. Once in the city, Thomson met up with his old friend Jan Gruter, another native of Antwerp who had also arrived in Heidelberg in 1592. Thomson and Gruter made use of a volume of Catullus, or of notes on Catullus, belonging to Thomson. It is likely that these notes were gathered from Palatine manuscripts, and that Thomson left Heidelberg with them in his possession.[5]

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1 See Thomson to Vulcanius, 7 May 1592 (pp. 156–159).

2 For Melissus (1539–1602), see J.-U. Fechner and H. Dehnhard, 'Melissus, Paulus', in NDB, 1994, 17, pp. 15–16.

3 Melissus to Janus Dousa junior, 20 July 1592 o.s.: 'Thomson cum advenerit, benevolos nos experietur' (London, British Library, Burney 370, fol. 98^{r}).

4 'Richardus Thomson, Antuerpiensis Belga' (Toepke and Hintzelmann, *Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 1884–1916, 2, p. 163).

5 Gruter to Janus Dousa junior, 22 March 1593: 'De Catullo tuo et reliquis illis, quid factum est? Non praestitit panegyri superiore Francfurti, neque etiam eius hic uspiam copia. Absque eo fuisset, quaedam enotassemus tua quae Senecae ornando, imo enotaverimus quaedam ex libro Thompsonii. Sed cum librum is auferret, nihil mihi remansit nisi numerus paginarum quem putabam concinnaturum ex libello misso a te ad Melissum. Sed is, ex quo factum maritus, capsis libellos omnes involvit, neque eos adhuc dum aperuit. Itaque et hic frustra fui'

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Both men made use of a manuscript of Martial in the Palatine library, and Thomson made a collation of it which he also took with him when he left the city.[6] This collation resurfaced a decade later, and its fortunes will be examined below.[7]

In Heidelberg, Thomson is likely to have associated with several figures who will reappear later in this book. Later in Geneva, Thomson knew Johannes Saracenus, and this man is no doubt the 'Johanes Saracenus, Genevensis' who matriculated at Heidelberg on 13 March 1592.[8] In a letter probably to be dated to the end of 1594, Henry Wotton notes that an Englishman, James Meadows, was at Heidelberg.[9] Casaubon wrote Meadows a letter in 1596, from which it is clear that Thomson was a mutual friend.[10] We should also note that Caspar Schoppe, who would later become one of the most virulent opponents of the Leiden circle around Scaliger, matriculated at Heidelberg on 17 August 1592.[11]

It was in Heidelberg that Thomson first met Jacob Christmann.[12] Christmann, a converted Jew, had been appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg in 1583, and professor of Aristotelian Logic in 1591. Christmann had a distant connection with England: he had known Henry Savile while both men were in Bratislava in 1581.[13] While there is no evidence that

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(London, British Library, Burney 370, fol. 134^{r}). Gruter is referring to Dousa's edition: *Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius … nunc denuo recogniti ac variis lectionibus et notis illustrati a Iano Dousa filio. Accessit Pervigilium Veneris*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud F. Raphelengium, 1592.

6 Gruter to Janus Dousa junior, 5 April 1593: 'Illo absoluto, tentabimus aliquid in Martiale; nisi tum eum tibi mavis: sic sane visus est dicere vester Thompso [*sic*], qui iam modo Genevam abit. Bonae notae scripturas aliquot hausi ex manuscripto uno Palatino, quarum et copiam tibi ab communi illo nostro amico factum puto. Nam et ipse eum contulit. Et nollem hercle nos concurrere, ne suspicientur homines aliquid inter nos occultae simultatis' (London, British Library, Burney 370, fol. 135$^{r–v}$).

7 See chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605' (pp. 104–108).

8 Toepke and Hintzelmann, *Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 1884–1916, 2, p. 158.

9 Pearsall Smith, *Henry Wotton*, 1907, 1, p. 300.

10 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 1002, p. 586.

11 Toepke and Hintzelmann, *Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 1884–1916, 2, p. 162.

12 For the biography of Christmann (1554–1613), see C.G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1750–1751, 1, col. 1897; *Biographie universelle* (*Michaud*) *ancienne et moderne*, 45 vols, Paris and Leipzig, 1843–1865, 8, pp. 239–240; ADB, 1876, 4, p. 222.

13 The only evidence for their acquaintance is a remark in Christmann to Thomson, 13 June 1593 (pp. 160–161). This visit to Bratislava adds another detail to the itinerary set out in R.B. Todd, 'Henry and Thomas Savile in Italy', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 58, 1996, pp. 439–444.

Thomson knew Savile before he set off on his travels in 1591, some sort of letter of introduction from Savile would certainly have helped to stimulate Christmann's hospitality towards Thomson. Thomson's command of Hebrew was well enough established by 1594 for Johannes Drusius to address him public letters on the subject.[14] Since it is unlikely that Thomson acquired this facility during his undergraduate years in Cambridge in the 1580s, it seems probable that he acquired a portion of his Hebrew from Christmann. In 1593, at the end of Thomson's time in Heidelberg, Christmann could speak of him in print as 'linguarum orientalium studiosissimum'. This turn of phrase, claiming for Thomson more than one oriental language, may indicate that Christmann had taught him a little Arabic.[15]

Thomson lived in Christmann's house in Heidelberg for six months, the entire duration of his time in the city. We learn from Christmann's own pen that Thomson stayed there with one Arnold Gorzen, and the records of the University inform us that Gorzen was from 's-Hertogenbosch in Brabant, and that he had matriculated at Heidelberg on 2 October 1592, just a few weeks before Thomson's own matriculation.[16] Christmann's language suggests that the two countrymen may have shared a room. Almost nothing is known of Gorzen, but he did ultimately make his way back to the Low Countries. There we find him again many years later matriculating at Leiden in literature in 1631 at the remarkable age of 60.[17] This would make him a young man of about twenty-one when he stayed with Christmann in Heidelberg, only a little younger than Thomson himself.

Thomson's familiarity with Christmann subsequently placed him in an embarrassing position with regard to Scaliger. Over the years, Christmann devoted a great deal of time to attacking Scaliger's landmark work on technical chronology, *De emendatione temporum*, first published in 1583. While Thomson was in Heidelberg, the great and good of Leiden were making determined efforts to lure Scaliger into accepting a position at the University there. This circumstance may have encouraged Thomson to make plans for spending some time

14 Two letters from Drusius to Thomson were published in 1595, and are edited in the present study: see part two, pp. 168–172.

15 For the possibility that Thomson knew a little Arabic, see also chapter 21, 'Johannes de Laet, 1603–1606' (pp. 92–93).

16 'Arnoldus Gortzen, Sylvaeducensis Belga' (Toepke and Hintzelmann, *Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 1884–1916, 2, p. 163).

17 There are two entries for Gorzen in the records of the University, the first for 17 October 1631 (*Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, p. 239), the second on 11 September 1634 (ibid., p. 265). In both his age is recorded as sixty, so it may be an approximation.

in Leiden. He seems to have left Heidelberg in March: in a letter dated 22 March 1593, Gruter talks as if Thomson is no longer in the city,[18] and in a letter of 5 April he states clearly that Thomson has recently left Heidelberg for Geneva.[19] In June 1593, some weeks after Thomson's departure, Christmann dedicated to him a chronological treatise on the date of the crucifixion, a direct attack on Scaliger's work. Worse, Christmann's preface implied that Thomson shared these criticisms of Scaliger's chronology.

Dismayed, Thomson turned to his friend Janus Dousa junior to vindicate him in Scaliger's eyes, and was relieved to find the tactic entirely successful. It would not be surprising to learn that Thomson directed a stiffly-worded letter of protest to his former host, but no such letter survives. Early the following year, Christmann published his *Calendarium Palestinorum*.[20] The dedicatory letter to Heinrich von Rantzau, dated 1 January 1594, repeatedly criticises Scaliger's understanding of the calendar. Christmann is not rude, but he is conspicuously and persistently ungracious. Thomson's name does not occur in this volume and there is no indication that the two men ever communicated again.

Christmann's badly received and entirely overlooked dedication to Thomson is very nearly the only evidence for this important period in Thomson's life. In the dedication, Christmann asks Thomson to greet his old friend Henry Savile, and he is clearly under the impression that Thomson is about to return to England. This was likely to have been true when Thomson left Heidelberg, but, as we have seen, by the beginning of April Gruter knew that he was going to Geneva.

It is likely that Thomson went from Heidelberg to the spring bookfair in Frankfurt, and it is possible that he then travelled from Frankfurt to Geneva in the company of his future host Isaac Casaubon. The evidence for the latter is entirely circumstantial. Casaubon received leave from the authorities in Geneva in December 1592 to travel to Frankfurt to stay with his old friend Philippe Canaye du Fresnes, and in January we find him in Strasbourg, in conversation with the scholar Denis Godefroi, reading the plays of Aristophanes and the declamations ascribed to Quintilian.[21] He left Strasbourg at the end

18 Gruter to Janus Dousa junior, 22 March 1593 (London, British Library, Burney 370, fol. 134$^{r–v}$).

19 Gruter to Janus Dousa junior, 5 April 1593 (London, British Library, Burney 370, fol. 135$^{r–v}$).

20 *Calendarium Palaestinorum et Universorum Iudaeorum, ad annos Quadraginta Supputatum. Nunc primum ex sermone Hebraeo in Latinum conversum, ac scholiis utilibus, maximeque necessariis illustratum per Iacobum Christmannum*, Frankfurt, apud I. Wecheli Viduam, 1594.

21 Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, p. 75. Casaubon's notes on Aristophanes in Oxford, Bodleian

of January, apparently travelling to Altorf to deliver a letter from Godefroi to Scipio Gentili.[22] He must have visited Frankfurt over the following weeks, for a letter from Canaye du Fresnes of 14 April shows that Casaubon had recently left Frankfurt to return to Geneva.[23] It is not certain that Thomson accompanied him on this journey from Frankfurt, but Thomson was going to Geneva at around this time, and he is to be found as a guest in Casaubon's house a few months later. It would be appropriate if Thomson's first encounter with Casaubon, one of the most important of both their lives, had taken place among the bookstalls of Frankfurt.

Library, Casaubon ms. 23 (3966b), item 12, are dated at the end 26 January 1593. A note at the top of the item states that the notes were made 'in itinere Germanico, MDXCIII'. Casaubon's notes on Pierre Pithou's edition of ps-Quintilian are in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 29 (3966i), item 4, are signed at the end 'Excerpebam ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, Argentinae xii Kal. Febr. 1593' (i.e. 21 January).

22 The letter from Godefroi, dated 27 January 1593, is in *Marquardi Gudii et doctorum virorum ad eum epistolae*, The Hague, 1714, no. 10, pp. 342–343.

23 London, British Library, Burney 364, fols 67^{r}–68^{r}. Casaubon had received news which obliged him to leave Frankfurt at once.

CHAPTER 7

Geneva, April–August 1593

Thomson seems to have left Christmann's house in Heidelberg in March 1593. We do not know when he arrived in Geneva, but he was certainly there by August. Henri Estienne, the great Greek scholar and Isaac Casaubon's difficult father-in-law, was in Geneva during Thomson's stay.[1] Estienne had been absent from the city for eight or nine months when Casaubon wrote to Thomson in April 1594, a statement which allows us to deduce that Thomson had reached Geneva before August 1593.[2] Thomson may have heard Casaubon speak publicly on the subject of the New World during this visit.[3]

In Geneva he knew the man who taught Casaubon Hebrew, Pierre Chevalier. Their acquaintance, however, cannot have extended beyond Thomson's time in Geneva: he sent his regards to Chevalier in a letter of December 1593, and is informed of his death by Casaubon in April 1594.[4] In his letter of April 1594, Casaubon also sends greetings from Jacques de Lect, a Genevan historian, lawyer and magistrate, and from Paul Estienne, the son of Casaubon's father-in-

1 Casaubon married Estienne's daughter Florence, but her father never allowed his son-in-law to enter his library: see Casaubon's letter to Scaliger of 2 September 1598, in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 195; Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 30–32. Scaliger said: 'H. Estienne ne voulut point voir sa fille femme de Casaubon. Il n'aymoit point son gendre' (Scaliger, *Secunda Scaligerana*, 1740, p. 316). For his biography, see *Biographie universelle* (*Michaud*) *ancienne et moderne*, 45 vols, Paris and Leipzig, 1843–1865, 13, pp. 112–115; L. Clément, *Henri Estienne et son oeuvre française*, Paris, 1899; DBF 13, 1975, cols 96–99; J. Kecskeméti et al., *La France des humanistes: Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain*, Turnhout, 2003.

2 Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594: 'quod tu putas eum [*sc*. Stephanum] hic esse, falleris: postquam semel abiit ante menses octo aut novem, ex illo semper non quidem per Elysios campos, sed per Germaniam ἀλᾶται, πλανᾶται, καὶ ἀλύει' (p. 175).

3 See Casaubon to Thomson, 20 September 1600 (p. 248). Thomson had located material on the New World in his letter to Casaubon of 10 April 1597 (pp. 211–215). He asked about the New World in his letter to Casaubon of 22 July 1600 (pp. 235–239), and Casaubon's reply referred him to a speech he had made around 1593: 'Propositam a te quaestionem ante sex septem annos cum cura tractavimus Genevae, solemni promotionum publicarum die. Nosti morem'. A study by Casaubon under the title 'An priscis novus orbis fuerit incognitus?' is outlined from Casaubon's notes in J.C. Wolf, ed. *Casauboniana*, Hamburg, 1710, p. 51.

4 Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593 (pp. 164–168); Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594 (pp. 173–178).

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law Henri. It is thus likely that Thomson knew these men too from his time in Geneva in the summer of 1593. In addition, we know that at least three other studious Dutchmen were in Geneva the same summer, in conversation with Casaubon and (we may suppose) Thomson. These were Johann van Werckhoven and the two sons of Dirk Canter, Lambert and Johann. They had set out in 1591 on a trip to Bremen, Mainz, Basle, Geneva and Padua.[5] All three men seem to have returned to the Low Countries by the autumn of 1594.[6]

Thomson was also in Geneva at the same time as another Englishman, Henry Wotton. Wotton, better known for his subsequent role as the ambassador of James I to the Republic of Venice, had arrived in Geneva from Italy on 22 June 1593, and by August he was staying in Casaubon's house.[7] A later letter from Casaubon to Thomson supplies us with the information that it was at Thomson's request that Casaubon took him in.[8] He stayed for at least fourteen months, from June 1593 to August 1594.[9] Wotton seems to have made good use of Casaubon's expertise during this long stay: Wotton later implies that he studied the history of Thucydides with Casaubon in Geneva, and they may have shared an interest in Heliodorus of Emesa's Greek prose romance the *Aethiopica*.[10] Wotton wrote an extant letter to Carolus Clusius from Casaubon's house in Geneva on 23 August 1593, and the letter demonstrates that Wotton was very well informed of all the new academic appointments at the University of Leiden.[11] It is unlikely that Thomson and Casaubon knew less

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5 A.J. Gruys, ed. *Theodori Canteri Epistolae*, Amsterdam, 1998, p. 271. For a biography of Dirk Canter (Theodorus Canterus, 1545–1617), brother of the philologist Willem Canter, see ibid., pp. 3–13. For the biography of Van Werckhoven (Werchovius, 1570–1619), see NNBW, 1911–1937, 3, 1914, cols 1402–1403.

6 Wotton wrote an undated letter, apparently on his return to England at the end of 1594, apparently addressed to the Earl of Essex: 'In the Low Countries, the sufficientest of my acquaintance are one Jo. Werckhovius at Utrecht, and Pet. Scapius in the Hage, both doctors in the civil laws, of good judgment, diligent, and free' (Pearsall Smith, *Henry Wotton*, 1907, 1, p. 301).

7 Wotton to Lord Zouche, 22 August 1593 o.s., in Pearsall Smith, *Henry Wotton*, 1907, 1, p. 297.

8 Casaubon to Thomson, 11 October 1594 (pp. 190–192).

9 Wotton wrote to Casaubon from London on 12 December 1596: 'post quatuordecim menses redii per Helvetios et Rhenana loca in illam patriam quae iam me biennium habuit' (Pearsall Smith, *Henry Wotton*, 1907, 1, p. 302).

10 Wotton to Casaubon, 12 December 1596 (Pearsall Smith, *Henry Wotton*, 1907, 1, p. 303).

11 'Iosephum Scaligerum ibine inventurus es? … Ionstonus Scotus nactus professionem ethicam? Franciscus Iunius iam ibi? Et tu futurus?' (Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 101). For John Johnston, see chapter 4, 'Leiden, 1588–1591?', note 10. Wotton's letter to Clusius is not in Pearsall Smith, *Henry Wotton*, 1907.

of the academic politics of Leiden than Wotton. Wotton left Geneva in the autumn of 1594, planning to travel to England via Leiden, and carrying a letter from Casaubon to Scaliger.[12] As we shall see, Wotton also left the city owing Casaubon a great deal of money, and Casaubon subsequently asked Thomson to speak to Wotton on his behalf, in an attempt to recover this sum. In these circumstances, we may suppose that the men knew one another during their stay in Geneva, but there is no evidence that they were friends.

12 Casaubon wrote to Scaliger in a letter probably of September or early October 1594: 'Datam mihi scribendi eius libelli occasionem, ne te pluribus morer, narrabit H.W. nobilis Anglus, qui has tibi, ut spero, tradet. Narrabunt et Canterii fratres, clarissimi viri Theodori Canteri filii εὐγενέστατοι et qui cum illis apud me erat Werkhovius, adolescens Ultraiectinus optimus et pereruditus' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 438–439).

CHAPTER 8

Frankfurt, September 1593

Thomson left Geneva for Frankfurt in the first half of August 1593, no doubt intending to visit the autumn bookfair on his journey. He set out carrying a letter from Casaubon to Philippe Canaye du Fresnes, and a list of books which Casaubon wished to acquire. The letter has not survived, but its existence appears from a letter which Canaye du Fresnes, in Frankfurt, addressed to Casaubon in Geneva.[1] The list too is lost, although we know a few of the items on it.[2] An extant letter from Thomson to Janus Dousa junior places him securely in Frankfurt in September 1593.[3]

From Frankfurt, Thomson seems originally to have planned to travel to Italy and to Austria. However, Joseph Scaliger reached Leiden towards the end of August to take up his post at the University there, and having learned of his arrival, Thomson postponed his travels to take advantage of an opportunity to visit the great man.[4] To this end, he announced in the letter addressed to Janus Dousa junior his intention to travel from Frankfurt to Leiden via his father's house.[5] Thomson must have left Frankfurt shortly after this letter was written and gone to his father's in Stade. Thereafter he took ship from northern Germany to Holland: the opening lines of his letter to Casaubon of December 1593 indicate that he went by sea, not overland.[6] By the end of November he was in Franeker.

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1 Du Fresnes to Casaubon, 25 September 1593: 'Advenit tandem eruditus ille et familiaris tuus Tomsonus cum tuis a.d. VII Id. Aug. datis …' (London, British Library, Burney 364, fol. 69^{r}).

2 The existence of the list, and some of the items on it, appear from Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593; Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594; and Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594 (pp. 164–168; 173–178; 178–184).

3 Thomson to Janus Dousa junior, 23 September 1593 (pp. 162–164).

4 Scaliger's arrival in Leiden was anticipated but not yet confirmed in Geneva in the last days of August 1593. Wotton, writing from Casaubon's house there, asked whether Scaliger had arrived in Leiden in a letter dated 23 August 1593: see chapter 7, 'Geneva, April–August 1593' (pp. 26–27).

5 Thomson to Janus Dousa junior, 23 September 1593 (pp. 162–164).

6 Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593: 'Richardus enim tuus ἀνεδύετο κῦμα θαλάσσης, quanquam vix διερῷ ποδί' (p. 165).

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CHAPTER 9

Leiden, December 1593–May 1594

Thomson matriculated at the University of Franeker on 30 November 1593, where Johannes Drusius was Rector.[1] Thomson, however, did not remain long in Franeker: it seems to have been a convenient halt on his westward sea journey from Stade to Leiden, which city he had reached by the end of December. On 27 December, he writes as if he had just stepped from the ship which carried him to Leiden, and he appears to be already on good terms with Scaliger. His earlier anxiety that his association with Christmann might have soured his welcome with Scaliger, vividly expressed in his letter to his friend Janus Dousa junior, had been quickly dispelled.[2] Thomson matriculated at the University of Leiden a few days later, on 31 December 1593 as 'Richardus Thomisson [*sic*] Anglus' in *Literae*, that is, in the *Facultas literarum et artium liberalium*.[3] Leiden is the fourth university at which Thomson is known to have matriculated.

The company in which Thomson matriculated at Leiden is significant. Four other men matriculated with him on 31 December: Henri Louis Chasteigner de La Roche-Posay, Jacques Daliet of La Roche-Posay, Pierre Morin of Preuilly, and Thomas Petit of Paris.[4] All four were French; Chasteigner's course of studies is unspecified, but his companions all matriculated in Letters. Henri Louis Chasteigner was the son of Scaliger's former patron and friend, Louis Chasteigner, and his education in Leiden was entrusted to Scaliger. Henri Louis was originally to have travelled to Leiden with Scaliger in the summer of 1593, but illness delayed his departure, and he did not reach the city until December.[5] That Thomson should matriculate at the University with Henri Louis and his entourage appears to be a mark of some distinction.

Thomson seems to have intended to remain in Leiden only until the spring, for in December 1593 he told Casaubon that he had no idea where he would be

1 S.J. Fockema Andreae and T.J. Meijer, eds, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis (1585–1811, 1816–1844)*, vol. 1: *Naamlijst der Studenten*, Franeker, [1968], entry no. 256, p. 20.

2 See Thomson to Janus Dousa junior, 23 September 1593 (pp. 162–164), and Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593: 'nubeculam illam quam ex Christmani scriptione animum meum obduxerat, sol ille literarius facile discussit' (p. 165). The 'sol literarius' is, of course, Scaliger.

3 *Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, col. 38.

4 None of Henri Louis' companions has been further identified.

5 See Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 351, n. 4.

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by the following summer.[6] In the event, he was in Germany by April. Thus it must have been in Leiden during the early months of 1594 that he completed a transcription of an unpublished Greek geographical poem. The ultimate source of this text was a manuscript from the library of Pierre Pithou in Paris, which Scaliger had transcribed for his own use some years earlier. Thomson's copy was made from Scaliger's: the first eight pages are in the hand of an unidentified scribe, after which Thomson stepped in, completing the text in eleven more pages, and recording Scaliger's conjectural emendations in the margin.[7] Thomson took this manuscript with him when he left Leiden, and soon sent it to Casaubon in Geneva.[8] Scaliger allowed Thomson access to his library during his stay, and Thomson was immediately drawn to this difficult Greek poem.

During this stay in Leiden, Thomson sent two letters to Casaubon.[9] The first of these is our surviving letter of 27 December 1593. The second letter is lost, but its contents may be reconstructed in part from Casaubon's extant reply of April 1594. Thomson's lost letter upbraided Casaubon for his prolonged silence. This fact suggests that there was an interval of months rather than weeks between the first and the second letter, and it may be plausibly assigned to March 1594. In the lost letter, Thomson spoke, no doubt guardedly, of Casaubon's possible candidacy for a position at the University of Leiden, and passed on the best wishes of the Dousas and Bonaventura Vulcanius. He informed Casaubon that he was sending some books, and he included with the letter Scaliger's notes on an ancient Greek pattern poem, the *Egg* of Simmias. Since these notes on Simmias had not yet been printed, Thomson evidently sent a manuscript copy of them, a small but precious gift and a potent display of Scaliger's learning applied to a particularly difficult text.[10]

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6 'Curabis mihi mittendum exemplum tuorum per eum qui tua curabit. Nam ubi futurus sum proxima aestate Ille sciet, non ego …' (p. 167).

7 For details, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', no. 3.

8 See chapter 15, 'Augsburg, Autumn 1599?' (p. 66). The later seventeenth century would ascribe the poem to Scymnus of Chios, and since the middle of the ninteenth century its author has been known as Pseudo-Scymnus.

9 In Casaubon's letter of April 1594, Casaubon says that he has received two letters from Thomson from Leiden (p. 174).

10 For Scaliger's work on the *Egg* of Simmias, see Scaliger's letter to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, 31 March 1591, in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 152–154. Scaliger's notes on the poem were first published in 1596: *Theocriti … idyllia et epigrammata. … Moschi, Bionis, Simmii opera quae exstant, Iosephi Scaligeri et Isaaci Casauboni emendationes seorsim dabuntur*, [Heidelberg], H. Commelinus, 1596.

It was during his time at Leiden that Thomson was responsible for bringing Casaubon and Scaliger into correspondence. For this service alone, Thomson is a significant figure in the history of scholarship. Thomson's letter of 27 December 1593, written from Leiden to Geneva, is his earliest extant letter to Casaubon, and it may well be his first: the familiar tone it adopts is no doubt due to the fact that Thomson had recently spent time with Casaubon in Geneva in the summer of 1593.

In Leiden, Thomson somehow came into the possession of Casaubon's earliest extant letter to Scaliger, dated 15 December 1593, and a copy of Casaubon's recent edition of the *Characters* of Theophrastus.[11] Although Thomson had been in Geneva some months earlier, it is likely that he had been sent this package by Casaubon to be forwarded to Scaliger, rather than that he collected it on a personal visit. However he acquired it, within twelve days of the date of Casaubon's letter, Thomson had presented these offerings from Casaubon to Scaliger. He did so in person and was able to observe Scaliger's favourable reaction, which he recorded in his letter of 27 December 1593 to Casaubon. Casaubon had certainly received this letter from Thomson by March 1594, when he wrote deferentially to Scaliger from Geneva:

> I recently dared, after much hesitation, to write to you, greatest of men, and to beg you to number me among those you deem worthy of your friendship. Your rare and remarkable *humanitas*, famed far and wide, inspired me to make this bold request. I have now received a letter from my friend Thomson, in which he said that he has greeted you on my behalf, and has passed on to me your regards.[12]

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11 *Theophrasti Characteres ethici …. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, in Latinum sermonem vertit et libro commentario illustravit*, Lyon, apud Franciscum Le Preux, 1592. The British Library has a copy of this edition annotated by Casaubon, shelfmark 525.a.10. For a brief assessment of Casaubon's edition, see J. Diggle, ed. *Theophrastus: Characters*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 53–54. For Casaubon's first letter to Scaliger, 15 December 1593, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 364–365.

12 Casaubon to Scaliger, 4 March 1594: 'Ausus eram nuper post longam contationem scribere ad te, maxime virorum, teque orare ut me in eorum album recipere velles quos amicitia tua dignaris. Fecerat me ut auderem singularis illa tua et admirabilis, cuius longe lateque fama didita, humanitas. Mox literas a Thomsone meo accepi, quibus et se aiebat salutem tibi meis verbis nuntiasse et tuo me nomine vicissim salutabat' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 367). For the delivery of this letter, see Scaliger to Casaubon, 7 May 1594 (ibid., p. 384).

Casaubon's words here refer to the content of Thomson's letter to Casaubon of December 1593.

Thomson, however, had arrived in Leiden with more than gifts from Casaubon: he came with a proposal that Casaubon would welcome a move from Geneva to a position at the University of Leiden. This plan was a matter of delicate negotiation, and as such although it was frequently alluded to, it was seldom discussed openly and it may never have been written down. Thomson had talked about it with Casaubon when he was in Geneva, and he alludes to this conversation in his letter of 27 December to Casaubon:

> For I am now involved in that matter which we discussed in private once (alas, once!) in my room, and (now the eyebrow rises!) I hope soon to be able to write the old saying: 'I came, I saw, I conquered'. For to those who ask about you, I know what to say. But I am embarrassed to recount these things in this letter.[13]

On 25 April 1594 Casaubon wrote to Thomson, and on the same day Casaubon also wrote to Scaliger about this plan:

> Richard Thomson, a very learned young man and a dear friend, recently wrote to me that in Leiden he had concocted some plan or other, and if he were able to accomplish it, there would be hope to finish my studies under you; which would be a source of the greatest delight to me. But I see no reason to hope that this plan will succeed.[14]

Casaubon characteristically moves into Greek to discuss his most fervent hopes. His allusive language arises from several causes: he hardly dares hope for what he wants to happen; his diffidence generously makes it easier for Scaliger to dismiss the plan; more importantly, the matter is secret because Casaubon does not want the authorities in Geneva to know that he is attempting to nego-

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13 Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593: 'Nam totus iam in eo sum quod secreti in meo cubiculo garriebamus olim (eheu, olim!) et (supercilium iam salit!) paullo post spero scripturum me vetus illud: 'veni, vidi, vici'. Rogantibus enim de te, tu scis, scio quid respondeam. Non est mei pudoris ista hic recensere' (p. 166).

14 Casaubon to Scaliger, 25 April 1594: 'Scripsit nuper ad me adolescens eruditissimus et mihi charissimus Richardus Thomson se isthic telam nescio quam esse orsum, quam si pertexeret, ἐλπὶς ἄν ἦν τοῦ λοιποῦ σοὶ μαθητεύειν· ὅπερ γένοιτο ἄν μοὶ χάρμα πάντων χαρμάτων ἀντάξιον. Sed cur id consilium sperem exitum habiturum, caussam nullam video' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 378–379).

tiate a new position for himself in Leiden. Casaubon's presentation of himself as Scaliger's student is an early example of the deference which characterises much of their subsequent correspondence. Casaubon implies that the plan for him to move to Leiden was Thomson's idea, and despite the tactical advantages of this claim for Casaubon, this may well be true. We are grateful that Thomson introduced Scaliger and Casaubon to one another, but it seems that he had entertained even more ambitious plans for his two new friends.

It must have been during his brief stay in Leiden that Thomson made an entry in the *album amicorum* of Janus Dousa senior. The entry bears no date, and the modern edition of the Album suggests that it was made in August 1584, at which period Dousa senior was in London.[15] However, although many of the inscriptions in the album were made around this date, it is too early: in 1584 Thomson was an undistinguished Cambridge undergraduate of about fifteen years of age. It is much more likely that this entry was made while Thomson was in the Low Countries in the 1590s. During Thomson's time as a student at Leiden before 1592, he was probably not considered important enough to be asked to sign such a book. By 1593–1594 he was a friend of Dousa's son Janus, he was contributing liminary poems to Vulcanius' edition of Agathias,[16] he was receiving letters on Hebrew scholarship from Drusius,[17] was on intimate terms with Casaubon, one of the great lights of Greek letters, and on good terms with Scaliger, the newest eminence of the Leiden academy. It is likely, too, that his acquaintance with Petrus Bertius dates back to this period in Leiden.[18] I believe that it was in the early months of 1594, as a rising star of the European literary scene, that Thomson signed the Album of Janus Dousa senior.

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15 The text is edited in C.L. Heesakkers, *Een Netwerk aan de basis van de Leidse universiteit: Het album amicorum van Janus Dousa*, Leiden, 2000, pp. 514–515. The album, Leiden, University Library, BPL 1406, is reproduced in facsimile as the second volume. Thomson's entry is on fol. 140^{r}. For his poem, see appendix 1, 'Thomson's Poetry'.

16 For Thomson's liminary verse to Vulcanius' edition of 1594, see appendix 1, 'Thomson's Poetry'.

17 These letters from Drusius are edited in the second part of the present study, pp. 168–172.

18 After Thomson's death, Bertius wrote to Hugo Grotius on 19 April 1615 while awaiting the arrival of a copy of Thomson's *Diatriba*: 'Sed de his plura, quum ipsum Thomsonem videbo. Novi enim et amavi virum, eritque mihi curae ut prodeant ipsius illa quam emendatissime' (Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling*, 1928–2001, 1, no. 398, pp. 380–381). Bertius' words suggest that the two men had met.

CHAPTER 10

Stade, May 1594

Thomson left Leiden in May. He undertook to deliver a letter from Scaliger to Casaubon which is dated 7 May 1594,[1] and it is likely that this letter was written immediately before Thomson's departure. Scaliger writes that Thomson is going to England, but he appears to have chosen a circuitous route. He probably left Leiden in the company of merchants going to the Frankfurt bookfair in the spring of 1594. At Frankfurt he received a package from Casaubon, and there he would have found it convenient to entrust Scaliger's letter to Casaubon to Genevan merchants returning home after the fair.[2]

From Frankfurt, Thomson travelled north, and by the end of May he was again at his father's house in Stade. Meanwhile, in Geneva Casaubon had written his earliest extant letter to Thomson on 25 April 1594, a letter which he doubtless addressed to his friend in Leiden. By the time it arrived in that city, Thomson had already left for Germany, and Thomson had still not received it when he wrote to Casaubon from Stade on 30 May. The same day, Thomson wrote to Vulcanius in Leiden, and in this letter he anticipates taking ship for England the following day. The son of an English merchant in Stade no doubt found it very easy to find a place on a boat bound for London. He was certainly back in England by 1 July, at which date we find him writing to William Camden from Cambridge.

Thomson's letter to Casaubon from Germany seems to have been the last Casaubon received from him for some time. In a postscript of a letter to Janus Dousa junior of August 1594, Casaubon writes that he does not know where to find Thomson, and has heard nothing from him since he left Stade.[3] Thomson's mobility could make correspondence with him difficult.

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1 This appears from Scaliger's letter of 18 July 1594 to Casaubon: 'Trinas a te accepi literas, et iam priusquam postremas acciperem, binis prioribus responderam unica epistola, quam Thomsonio nostro in Angliam proficiscenti dedi. Isque in se recepit illam tuto tibi redditum iri. Nunc si illa in manus tuas pervenit, sin autem, scito me officio non defuisse' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 403). The 'unica epistola' is Scaliger to Casaubon, 7 May 1594, *q. v.* headnotes (ibid. pp. 384–386).

2 Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594: 'Omnia quae misisti, Francofurto accepi' (p. 182).

3 'Richardo nostro, quem ego adolescentem iuxta cum oculis meis amo, quid factum sit, et in qua illum quaeram proseucha, ex te scire cupio. Nam post eius Stada profectionem, nihil mihi de eo compertum' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 16, p. 11). Casaubon's autograph is London, British Library, Burney 371, fol. 110^{r}.

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CHAPTER 11

England, June 1594–August? 1596

Thomson travelled from Germany to London in June 1594, and was soon back in Cambridge. It was from there that we find him writing to William Camden on 1 July 1594.[1] His affairs are still in some disorder: 'plura missurus', he writes, 'ubi res meae omnes compositae'. Just as Thomson had put Casaubon into correspondence with Scaliger, he now encouraged Camden to send his work and a letter to Scaliger, and promised to visit Camden as soon as his duties allowed. Camden was probably in London at this date, having been made headmaster of Westminster School in 1593.[2]

Once back in England, Thomson did not, as is sometimes claimed, take up a position as a fellow at Clare Hall. A potential ambiguity in the records of the College has given rise to this claim. These records show two Richard Thompsons who both matriculated in 1583. The first was a probationary fellow from 1594 and a senior fellow 1595–1596; the second was a probationary fellow from 1598 and a senior fellow 1599–1613.[3] The records distinguish these two Richard Thomsons as senior and junior. The latter is certainly our 'Dutch' Thomson, because the senior fellowship ends with his death in 1613. These two Thomsons have in the past been conflated,[4] but the evidence of a letter from the fellows of Clare Hall signed by both men establishes that there were two fellows of that name at Clare in 1600.[5] Thomson senior signs first, possibly an assertion of precedence. This confirmation of the existence of Thomson's barely known namesake still does not entirely explain the College records, for they state that Thomson junior was made a probationary fellow in 1598, at which date he was certainly in Italy.[6] Neither do the records make clear in what capacity Thomson

1 Thomson to Camden, 1 July 1594 (pp. 187–188).

2 See W.H. Herendeen, 'Camden, William (1551–1623)', ODNB, 2004, 9, pp. 603–614.

3 W.J. Harrison, *Notes on the Masters, Fellows, Scholars and Exhibitioners of Clare College, Cambridge*, with additional notes by A.H. Lloyd, Cambridge, 1953, p. 26.

4 'It is probable that Thompson senior was also Richard. If there were two fellows of the same names, it is possible that 'Dutch' Thompson was the B.A. from Trinity, not the sizar matric. from Clare, 1583' (ibid., p. 41).

5 See the Fellows of Clare Hall to Robert Cecil, 6 March [1600] (pp. 231–232).

6 According to the Vice Chancellor's Court Records, Robert Turner was appointed Proctor for Richard Tomson M.A. in June 1596 (Cambridge, University Library, VCCt. III 5, item no. 100). This person is probably Thomson senior.

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attended the *Comitia maxima* at Cambridge in July 1594.[7] Still, knowledge of Thomson senior does go some way to untangling the knot.

Shortly after arriving back in Cambridge, apparently in July 1594, Thomson undertook a tour of the libraries of Oxford. He recounts to Vulcanius some of the manuscripts he discovered there, and some which he saw in the library of Trinity College. His assessment of their scholarly value is realistic rather than enthusiastic, although he does identify some which might be useful as supplements to those available elsewhere. It is clear from this letter that Thomson still thinks of his visit to England as a temporary one, and a statement earlier in the year shows that when he left Germany in June, his intention was to return to the continent soon.[8] He tells Vulcanius that he would like to bring some of his discoveries from his recent tour of the university libraries to him in person, but doubts that he will be able to do so before the autumn.

These plans for a return to Leiden are connected with the fact that at the time of his arrival in England, Thomson was a candidate for a professorship at the University there. James Ramsay, a friend of Thomson and *professor extraordinarius* of logic in Leiden, had died in May 1593.[9] Pierre du Moulin, recently arrived from England, was appointed to succeed Ramsay in July 1593.[10] The following year, Du Moulin supported Thomson's candidacy for the professorship of Ethics. In July 1594, he wrote to Janus Dousa senior, Curator of the University since its foundation in 1575:

> The professorship of Ethics has been discussed for some time. If a professor is sought, I believe there can be no better candidate—Casaubon aside—than our own Thomson. Your son and I recommended that he accept the post, should it be offered, and he agreed. He is now in England, waiting to see what might happen to Gruter, who is (we hear) applying himself to stoic philosophy. If you are agreeable, I shall arrange for Thomson to come here from England at once to give some proof of his ability.[11]

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7 See Thomson to Vulcanius, 1 July 1594 (pp. 187–188).

8 In Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594, he wrote: 'Neque tamen ibi [i.e. in Anglia] stare statui, sed redire in Belgicam, ubi res meas omnes composuero' (p. 182).

9 For Ramsay's death, see chapter 4, 'Leiden, 1588–1591?' (p. 13).

10 Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1913, p. 76.

11 Du Moulin to Janus Dousa senior, 10 July 1594: 'Iamdudum de Ethica professione video agi. Si quaeritur professor, non puto post Casaubonum idoneum magis temere inveniri posse Tampsonio [*sic*] nostro. Ego, nec non filius tuus, fuimus ipsi auctores ut tale munus, si offerretur, capesseret; nec abnuit. Nunc in Anglia expectat quid fiet Grutero, quem nuper audivimus κυρτῶντα σκαζούσας θεωρίας. Si cognovero rem tibi probari, curabo ut ex

Both Scaliger and Thomson had been attempting to secure a post for Casaubon at Leiden in 1594. Casaubon was willing to leave Geneva, but there was insufficient support for the appointment, perhaps because Casaubon, a man with an international reputation and a large family, would have commanded a substantial salary. Thomson would have been a less expensive prize, and he does seem to have coveted the position. His small number of surviving Latin poems may all be connected with this unsuccessful candidacy.[12] The poem he inscribed in the *Album amicorum* of Janus Dousa senior, already noticed, certainly seems to belong to this period.[13] In the same year, Thomson contributed liminary verses to Vulcanius' edition of the Byzantine poet and historian Agathias.[14] This raised his profile among the great and good at Leiden, some of whom also contributed poems to the volume. Before the end of the year, Thomson had also added a short liminal poem to the commentaries on the works of Seneca prepared by Jan Gruter in Heidelberg.[15] In the event, however, neither Thomson nor Casaubon was appointed: Petrus Bertius, the internal candidate, took up the post in February 1595, and Thomson remained in England.[16]

Having given up on the position at Leiden, Thomson soon found himself employment in England, taking up a post as secretary to an unnamed gentleman, apparently a member of the Killigrew family.[17] Writing to Vulcanius in

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Anglia propere advolet ad nos, daturus ingenii experimentum' (London, British Library, Burney 371, fol. 21^{v}). The letter is edited in J. van der Meij, 'Pierre du Moulin in Leiden, 1592–1598', *Lias*, 14, 1987, pp. 15–40, pp. 36–37. The Greek alludes to stoic philosophy: the stoic Epictetus walked with a limp, and Gruter in Heidelberg was preparing to publish commentaries on the works of the stoic Seneca: see this chapter, note 15.

12 See appendix 1, 'Thomson's Poetry'.

13 See chapter 9, 'Leiden, December 1593–May 1594' (p. 33).

14 *Agathiae, historici et poetae eximii, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque: Graece nunquam antehac editi. Ex bibliotheca et interpretatione Bonaventurae Vulcanii. Cum notis eiusdem*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1594. Thomson's poems are on sig. ** 3v, which is signed ** 5.

15 Gruter, *Animadversiones in L. Annaei Senecae opera*, [Heidelberg], ex typographeio Hieronymi Commelini, 1594. Thomson's poem is on p. VIII.

16 Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1913, p. 82. Bertius' Arminian treatise of 1610 is considered below: see chapter 26, 'Final Years and Death' (pp. 122–125).

17 Thomson to Vulcanius, 4 February 1595: 'Addixi enim operam meam nobilissimo cuidam viro in aula regia, cui a studiis sum' (p. 196). Thomson appears to have hesitated over his description of this role: see the deletions recorded in the textual apparatus to the same letter. For Thomson's connections with the Killigrews, see this chapter, and chapters 12, 22 and 26 (pp. 44–45, 46–50, 106–107, 122).

February 1595, he points out that his duties in this capacity are preventing him from travelling abroad. These duties, however, were not the usual drudgery of the secretary: with his master Thomson reads history and philosophy, both natural and moral.[18] He seems to have taken on the role of cultural intermediary and informal political adviser which we find other scholars adopting during the period.[19] Whatever the precise nature of his duties, he was evidently busy. In February, he regrets that he has no time to use a Cambridge manuscript to improve the text of a Leiden edition on John of Salisbury.[20] In June 1595, Scaliger asked Thomson to collate his copy of Vitruvius with an old exemplar in England.[21] This is a great deal of careful labour to ask of someone: rather than undertake the task or deny a respected friend, Thomson simply sent Scaliger his manuscript.[22]

Thomson also re-established contact with Casaubon in Geneva, informing him of an edition of the Greek historian Polybius projected by Justus Lipsius, and sending him a number of books.[23] Casaubon, in turn, used Thomson as an intermediary for his own letters to others,[24] and Thomson, having earlier

18 Thomson to Vulcanius, 4 February 1595: 'Legimus historiam, aut philosophum aliquam ethicum, aliquam etiam naturalem; nuper etiam Apuleium tuum, sed philosophum' (p. 196).

19 For the activities of Henry Cuffe and Gabriel Harvey in this role, see L. Jardine and A. Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past and Present*, 129, 1990, 30–78.

20 Thomson to Vulcanius, 4 February 1595 (pp. 196–197).

21 Scaliger to Thomson, 14 June 1595 (pp. 197–199).

22 This appears from a letter from Scaliger to Fridericus Lindenbrogius of 18 August 1596: 'Vitruvium Thomson suum nuper mihi utendum ex Anglia misit; manuscriptum quidem illum sed non meliorem excusis, imo in multis et longe deteriorem' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 643).

23 Casaubon to Jacques Bongars, 8 October 1595: 'Richardus Thomson scripsit ad me, nescio vigilans an somnians, haec verba: Lipsium plurimum in edendo Polybio sudasse; multa tamen pecasse, ut pagina prima … etc. Quid? Lipsius ergo Polybium edidit? Per omnes Musas te oro et obtestor, inquire, investiga. Idem Thomson iussit salutem tibi verbis suis asscriberem: unice enim ab illo et amaris et observaris. Scripsisset, si scisset ubi haereres. Uti video, fasciculus ille literarum, quem misi ad te per Tobiam Scultetum, ut ad Scaligerum curares perferendum, vel gradu testudineo delatus, vel potius periit: nam illis literis et ipsum et Thomsonem monebam de recepta tandem pecunia Angli' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 42, pp. 26–27). Casaubon refers to Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 9 August 1595 (pp. 199–203).

24 Casaubon to Hieronymus Commelinus, 20 March 1596: 'Miror neque a Scaligero, neque a Thomson quicquam a me literarum accepisse' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 1004, p. 587).

brought Camden into contact with Scaliger, now encouraged Casaubon to open a correspondence with the English historian.[25] It is striking to learn that Scaliger, in Leiden, found that Thomson, in England, was better able to get a letter to Geneva than he was.[26] It is possible that England was generally felt to enjoy better communications with Geneva than Leiden, but it is more likely that Thomson, with his connections among German merchants, was particularly well placed to ensure a letter reached the city safely.

During his time in England, Thomson intervened with Henry Wotton to have this young gentleman pay a substantial debt to Casaubon which he had contracted during his stay in Geneva in 1593 and 1594. Having recently spent time in Geneva with Wotton, and being on very good terms with Casaubon, Thomson was well suited to this role. The story of Wotton's debt to Casaubon was first told by Mark Pattison in the nineteenth century.[27] There is a good chance that some of the most pertinent documents have suffered from that passive censorship which obscures so many interesting but disreputable episodes: the relevant correspondence was initially not published out of deference to Wotton and his family, and by the time this deference had faded, many of the letters had been lost. Certainly, some of the more embarrassing letters were not published until the third edition of Casaubon's correspondence in 1709. The episode is worth rehearsing here partly because Pattison's account benefits from some supplements, precise dates and further references, but principally because the story may now be considered from Thomson's point of view.

We have seen that Wotton had arrived in Geneva in June 1593, was staying in Casaubon's house by August, and that he spent the following year there until he left the city in August 1594.[28] Their time together seems to have been a happy one,[29] but on his departure Wotton left Casaubon standing surety

25 In a letter to Camden of 5 November 1596, Casaubon makes some observations on the origins of the word 'Britannia', and continues: 'Haec et pauca id genus alia annotabam, dum eximium illud opus percurro; quae etsi levia sunt, tamen ut de iis te consulerem, pervicit amicissimi doctissimique et tui studiosissimi viri Richardi Thomsonis hortatio. Is mihi in sermonibus saepius affirmavit, fore tibi pergratum, si de communibus studiis tecum per literas conferrem' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 105, p. 57).

26 Scaliger to Casaubon, 4 July [1595]: 'Literis tuis omnibus respondi, et ne illis accideret quod alias contigerat sedulo cavi. Diversis enim itineribus literas meas direxi, ut quanquam sero tamen tuto ad te deferrentur. Nam et in Angliam Thomsoni misi, qui non solum promisit se curaturum ut tuto ad te perferrentur, sed aliis postea literis significavit tuto a se rem confectam esse …' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 528).

27 Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 40–42.

28 See chapter 7, 'Geneva, April–August 1593' (p. 26).

29 See Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 379–381.

for substantial debts, debts which were far beyond Casaubon's means. It had been agreed that these should be settled at the autumn Frankfurt bookfair, but when the merchants returned to Geneva in October Casaubon found that no such payment was forthcoming.[30] In a state of high anxiety, he mobilised his correspondents in his cause, and enlisted international opprobrium in an attempt to oblige Wotton to settle his account. First he wrote to Wotton a letter dated 11 October regarding the debt, carefully reassuring Wotton that he did not doubt his good faith in the matter.[31] In order to have this letter reach Wotton, Casaubon wrote a letter to Thomson the same day, asking him to deliver it.[32] In order to have both of these letters reach Thomson, Casaubon sent them with a third, addressed to Scaliger at Leiden on 15 October.[33] Such were the elaborate measures required to ensure that an important letter reached its destination.

This apparently fragile chain of missives was very effective. On 20 November, Scaliger informed Casaubon that he would forward the letters to Wotton and Thomson,[34] although it was not until December that he actually did so.[35] Scaliger pressed Thomson to take vigorous action on Casaubon's behalf; more importantly, he mobilised his old friend Paul Choart de Buzanval, the French

30 Casaubon to Thomson, 11 October 1594: 'Sic inter nos convenerat, ut ille Francofurti solveret, et quod mihi et quod alii debebatur. Nihil eorum factum est' (p. 191). For the terms of this debt, see also Casaubon to Marquard Freher, 24 August 1594 (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 987, pp. 576–577). The letter to Freher was entrusted to Wotton on his departure from Geneva.

31 Casaubon's letter to Wotton was first printed in Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 991, pp. 578–579. Casaubon's letter to Thomson, 11 October 1594, is edited in the present work, pp. 190–192.

32 This is Casaubon to Thomson, 11 October 1594 (pp. 190–192).

33 Casaubon to Scaliger, 15 October 1594: 'Nos nostraque studia gravis quidam casus prope afflixit. Accidit enim ut Anglus ille nobilis, de quo proximis meis ad te scripsi, in molestias maximas, non sua culpa, me coniecerit, sed perfidia quorundam mercatorum quibuscum illi res saepe fuerat. Propterea nunc ad illum scripsi in Angliam, easque literas, quia isthic plurimum me a te amari confidebam, tibi misi, ut (si grave non est) eas tu quam primum in Angliam mittendas cures …. Scribo etiam ad Thomsonem, studiosissimum mei virum, ut si quid poterit me hic adiuvet; eas quoque literas cures velim et mihi ignoscas' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 450).

34 Scaliger to Casaubon, 20 November 1594: 'Literas tuas ad Wltonum [*sic*] Anglum et Thomsonium sedulo perferendas curabo' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 470).

35 See Scaliger to Thomson, 20 December 1594 (pp. 192–195). Scaliger says that he received the letters from Casaubon 'nudiustertius'. A strict understanding of this word is inconsistent with his statement in Scaliger to Casaubon, 20 November 1594 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 468).

ambassador to The Hague, to write to those in England who were in a position to put pressure on Wotton.[36] In 1595 Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College Oxford, threatened to report Wotton's behaviour to the Earl of Essex. Since Wotton looked to Essex for patronage, this is likely to have concentrated his mind on the matter.[37] By May 1595 Casaubon had received the money, as he records in a letter to Scaliger. He attributes this success to the influence of Scaliger, Buzanval and Thomson, though Savile's firm intervention is likely to have been a powerful factor.[38]

By August 1595, Thomson believed that the matter was resolved.[39] His efforts on Casaubon's behalf were praised by Scaliger: 'totus in eo est Thomson'.[40] Thomson, as the man who had encouraged Casaubon to open his doors to

36 Scaliger to Casaubon, 1 February 1595: '… non dudum scripserim cum literas tuas ad Wultonium et Thomsonem in Britanniam misi. Ego ipsi Thomsoni de tuo negotio latus iterum fodicavi de Wltonio [*sic*] appellando, ut et hominem lentitudinis admoneat, et te hac cura, in quam ille te, vel potius ἄκαιρος benignitas tua, coniecit, liberet. Suboluit enim de tota re. Nam non raro hariolamur, et hic sane fuit quaedam εὐστοχία mea. Buzanvallius legatus Regis omnia vult tua caussa et te gestat in ore. Is etiam pro te in Britanniam literas ad amicos suos quibus notus est Wltonius, dedit. Per nos non stabit, mi Casaubone, quin tibi satisfiat, et si opus est etiam pipulo flagitabimus. Non dubito quin iam acceperis quas antea tibi scripsi, Bezae et Golarto. Certe Thomsoni negotium dedi, neque puto deerit officio suo' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 483).

37 This appears from an unpublished Greek letter from Andrew Downes in Cambridge to Casaubon (London, British Library, Burney 363, fol. 252$^{r–v}$). It is dated 30 July *sine anno*, but is certainly of 1595. The letter, overlooked by Pattison, shows great indignation at Wotton's behaviour. The fact that it is in Greek, and that fact that Wotton is not named, may have saved it from censorship. Casaubon's reply, also in Greek and first published in 1709, is much kinder to Wotton (Cambridge, University Library, Ff.I.7, fols 27^{r}–29^{v}; Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 995, pp. 581–582). Downes noted that Thomson would write to Casaubon about Wotton: ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τούτων (οἶμαι) Τομισῶνα τὸν σὸν ἐπιτήδειον σοι γράψειν ἀκριβέστερον. He wrote a few days later: Thomson to Casaubon, 9 August 1595 (pp. 199–203). In this letter, Thomson sends a correction to the Greek text of Polybius which he owes to Savile.

38 Casaubon to Scaliger, 20 May 1595: 'W. satisfecit, meque ea molestia liberavit in quam, ut vere scribis, coniecerat me ἄκαιρος mea facilitas. Non male hariolatus eras, sed fueras hic quoque (ut semper in omni re) εὔστοχος. Persuasus sum tuis maxime literis effectum et Busenvallii, nec non opera Thomsonis nostri, ut hac sollicitudine liberarer' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 514–515).

39 See Thomson to Casaubon, 9 August 1595 (pp. 199–203).

40 Scaliger to Casaubon, 4 July [1595]: 'De Wultone illo tuo satis tibi illis omnibus literis scripsi. Scito enim negotium hoc non solum mihi et Thomsoni, sed et aliis quoque summis viris, qui te de doctrina tantum tua norint, curae fuisse. Omnes istum ἀγνώμονα quibus maxime potuerunt modis acriter appellarunt. Et sane, ut nuper mihi scripsit Thomson,

Wotton in Geneva, must have felt in some measure responsible for his friend's difficulties. Scaliger, apparently informed by Buzanval and by Buzanval's correspondents in England, thought that Wotton's behaviour was reprehensible. Casaubon did not, and neither, he claimed, did Thomson. This appears from a letter which Casaubon wrote to the Englishman James Meadows in 1596, after the dust had settled on the affair:

> I must admit that because of him [Wotton] I have endured a sea of troubles; but it was not his fault. I have always persuaded myself of this, and I have always been persuaded of it by our friend Thomson, whose letters on the matter always maintained Wotton's good faith and good will towards me …[41]

Thomson's own words in a letter to Casaubon suggest that in fact Thomson had a healthy suspicion of Wotton's manoeuvres, strengthened by the fact that Wotton had also borrowed money from Thomson. He distances himself from his fellow countryman—Wotton is 'trico ille tuus'—and he cannot be at ease until he has had Casaubon's confirmation that all is well.[42]

Thomson was able to count on Savile's support in his negotiations with Wotton. He also mediated between Savile and Scaliger over the latter's claim to have solved an ancient geometrical puzzle. When Scaliger arrived in Leiden in 1593 he brought with him a number of works ready for publication. Among these was his *Cyclometrica*, an elaborate geometrical treatise. In this treatise, Scaliger claimed to have squared the circle; that is, he claimed to have constructed a square of the same area as a given circle using only the tools of Euclidean geometry. This problem had attracted the attention of mathematicians since

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pipulo provocatur. Neque enim aliter ἀγνωμοσύνην hominis movere potuit. Et totus in eo est Thomson ut omnibus modis ab eo exigat quo tibi plane satisfiat. Et faciet, ut spero: nunquam ad eum scribo quin illi hoc negotium commendem'; Scaliger to Casaubon, 31 August [1595]: 'Gaudeo meas literas tibi redditas esse et a Wltone [*sic*] Anglo satisfactum. Non sine ope Thomsonis hoc tibi contigit, neque sine voluptate eius fore spero' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 528–529, 543).

41 Casaubon to Meadows, 15 March 1596: 'Pelagus quidem molestiarum emensum fateor eius [i.e. Wottonis] caussa; at non eius culpa tamen. Sic mihi semper ipse persuasi; sic a Thomsone nostro semper sum persuasus, qui de eo negotio nullas unquam literas dedit, quibus fidem eius et amorem erga me non praedicaret …' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 1002, p. 586).

42 See Thomson to Casaubon, 9 August 1595 (pp. 199–203). This letter, appended to Casaubon's working copy of Polybius, may have been unknown to Pattison.

antiquity and a variety of unsuccessful solutions had been proposed over the centuries. In the summer of 1594, Scaliger, much better known to his contemporaries as a textual critic and chronographer, proudly unveiled his own solution. It was expensively printed and dedicated to the authorities of his new home city.[43] Over the following months and years the mathematicians of Europe dismantled and refuted what he had presented so confidently and so publicly. It was a profoundly embarrassing incident for a scholar who had grown accustomed to admiration.

Thomson was the channel by which Scaliger introduced the treatise to England, and he was responsible for communicating its reception to its author. He ensured that a copy reached the desk of Savile, the greatest English mathematician of the day. However, Savile's acerbic criticisms of Scaliger's work on geometry placed Thomson in a difficult position: Scaliger wanted Thomson to report Savile's responses to the treatise, and Savile found it difficult to present his objections while hiding his contempt. Thomson's role in the exchange is further obscured by the fact that much of the correspondence surrounding the edition has not survived, censored and neglected by those who admired Scaliger's other achievements and preferred to forget this single failure.

Savile had received a copy of the *Cyclometrica* before the end of 1594, and in December Scaliger sent Thomson his *Appendix ad Cyclometrica* for Savile.[44] The *Appendix* was intended to counter some of the objections raised against the original work, and would, Scaliger claimed, show that some people had judged the *Cyclometrica* too quickly—and with too little civility. Savile had written a collection of sharp notes in the margins of his copy of Scaliger's *Cyclometrica*.[45] Thomson may have informed Scaliger of them in a letter now lost, for Scaliger seems to have heard rumours of Savile's criticisms. In a letter dated 15 March 1595 the German mathematician Johannes Praetorius urged Savile to publish them, and Scaliger himself wrote to Savile with a similar request in April.[46] By the time Scaliger wrote to Thomson again in June, Scaliger had received some material from Savile, but had not yet read it. He acknowledges

43 Scaliger, *Cyclometrica elementa duo. Appendix, in qua asseritur quadratio circuli*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1594. For the production and distribution of the work, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 388–389.

44 Scaliger to Thomson, 20 December 1594 (pp. 192–195).

45 Savile's copy is now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, shelfmark Savile Ee.1 (4).

46 See Scaliger to Savile, 5 April 1595, in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 505–509. Savile's notes were never published.

in this letter that there are some mistakes in the *Cyclometrica*, but is still vowing to teach his detractors a lesson.[47]

Thomson's connection with Savile may have been responsible for his stronger connections with the University of Oxford. Thomson was incorporated M.A. at Oxford on 1 July 1596, adding membership of a fifth university to those with which he was already associated.[48] At this date, incorporation was relatively common: in 1596 eight other Cambridge academics were incorporated at Oxford.[49] Thomson's reasons for pursuing the distinction are not recorded, although it probably allowed him easier access to the Bodleian Library.[50] However, the incorporation must be connected to the fact that Thomson had now resolved to travel to Italy: on the day of the ceremony in Oxford, Thomson wrote a lost letter to Casaubon announcing his journey.[51] He embarked upon it in the company of Robert Killigrew, better known as father of the dramatists William and Thomas, but at this date just sixteen years old. Robert had matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1591, but had taken no degree by 1596.[52] In May of that year his father William, an eminent politician, obtained

47 Scaliger to Thomson, 14 June 1595 (pp. 197–199). For a fuller account of the controversy over Scaliger's *Cyclometrica*, see Glucker, 'An autograph letter of Joseph Scaliger to Sir Henry Savile', *Scientiarum Historia*, 8, 1966, no. 4, pp. 214–224, pp. 221–222; A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. II: *Historical Chronology*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 278–284; R. Goulding, 'Polemic in the Margin: Henry Savile against Joseph Scaliger's Quadrature of the Circle', in D. Jacquart and C. Burnett, eds, *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Geneva, 2005, pp. 241–259, p. 258.

48 See Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 1887, p. 354. His older namesake seems to have been the 'Richard Tomson' incorporated 10 July 1593 (ibid., p. 353), at which date our Thomson was in Geneva.

49 Thomas Stretely (24 May), Robert Tighe (21 June), Robert Cutt (1 July), William Lucas (14 July), Henry Darnton (20 October), Toby Hericke (14 December) and William Parker (18 December). See Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 1887, p. 354. Tighe (Tyghe, Tigue, d. 1620) was, like Thomson, later a member of the First Westminster Company of the translators of the King James Bible. In addition, Thomas Playfere was incorporated D.D. at Oxford on 9 July. In 1599 Playfere unsucessfully petitioned for the mastership of Clare Hall: see P.E. McCullough, 'Playfere, Thomas (c. 1562–1609)', ODNB, 2004, 44, pp. 567–568. For Thomson's role in the dispute over the mastership, see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599', pp. 67–68.

50 For the meaning of 'incorporation', see Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 1887, pp. 345–347; for access to the Library, see ibid., p. 262.

51 The existence of this lost letter appears from Casaubon to Thomson, 26 August 1596, *q. v.* (pp. 203–205).

52 A. Bellany, 'Killigrew, Sir Robert (1579/80–1633)', ODNB, 2004, 31, pp. 562–564; N.M. Fuidge

for his son a licence to travel for three years, and at the same time procured letters of denization for Thomson and his sister Abigail.[53] Thomson's incorporation at Oxford seems to have been undertaken primarily to allow him to act as tutor to an Oxford undergraduate while overseas.

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in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler, 3 vols, London, 1981, 2, p. 397, *s. v.* 'Killigrew, Robert'.

53 The Signet Office Docquet Books record in May 1596: 'A lycence to travaile for Robt Killigrewe sonne of Wm Killigrew esqu. during the space of 3 yeares with two servants, three horses and fyftie pounds in money. Dated the xxith [*sic*] of May anno predicto. Procured by Mr Wm Killigrewe' (Kew, National Archives, SO 3/1, fol. 587^{r}); 'A graunt of free denizenship of this realme for Richard Thompson Mr of Arts and Abigail Thompson borne in forraine parts. Procured by Mr Killigrewe' (ibid., fol. 586^{r}). Letters patent granting denization to Richard and Abigail were issued on 4 June 1596 (W. Page, ed. *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England 1509–1603*, Lymington, 1893, p. 232).

CHAPTER 12

Geneva, October? 1596–April 1597

Thomson took ship from London to Stade some time after 1 July, doubtless accompanied by the young Robert Killigrew. On 26 August Casaubon wrote enthusiastically to him in anticipation of his arrival in Geneva. Once in Germany, he may have found the opportunity to attend the bookfair in Frankfurt in September irresistible. But if he did go to Frankfurt, he must have been back in Stade for the marriage of his sister Abigail to Henry Billingsley on 17 October.[1]

This wedding is likely to have been a large event, attracting guests from across the community of English merchants. The marriage itself is recorded in German church records,[2] but for the circumstances surrounding it we must turn to the letters which the merchant John Quarles received from his agent in Stade George Lowe.[3] Henry Billingsley was the eldest son of the Lord Mayor of London, and as such a highly eligible bachelor, but Abigail was still something of a catch even for Henry. We have already seen that she received letters of denizenship in England in May 1596.[4] In July Lowe announced the engagement to his employer, and noted that disappointed suitors might be jealous:

> Harry Byllyngsley is in the way of marriage with Mr Thomson's daughter, and lykely to speede; but in regard the mayd hath bene sought by many whoe could not be suche or obtayne her, he doubtes he shal be envyed in that by the yll wylles of many …[5]

Henry's success may have cost him the good will of these competitors at a crucial moment, for the summer of 1597 proved to be a particularly difficult one for many English merchants. The companies of Giuliano Roniter, Antonio Bay, Christopher Bonart, and Jaques Joan all failed in the spring, bringing many of their creditors down with them in England and abroad.[6] The fortunes, and the creditworthiness, of the Thomsons were now linked to those of the

1 For this marriage, see also chapter 1, 'Early life'.

2 See chapter 1, 'Early Life', note 18.

3 The correspondence is preserved in Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176.

4 See chapter 11, 'England, June 1594–August? 1596', note 53.

5 Lowe to Quarles, 8 July 1596 (Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fol. 140^{r}).

6 *The Fugger News Letters, 1568–1605*, 2nd series, London, 1926, pp. 292–293.

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Billingsleys.[7] Henry Billingsley's credit, meanwhile, had become entangled with that of his brother Martin.[8]

These difficulties grew throughout the summer of 1597 and by November, Henry was in prison in Stade. This was not the town prison, where many of his creditors would have liked to have seen him, but the house of the English Merchant Adventurers in Stade, which seems to have offered a more decorous confinement.[9] In these circumstances, and since the credit of the Thomsons was not sufficient to procure Henry's freedom, Emanuel Thomson went to England to recover money from Henry's brother Martin.[10] It is not clear how successful this expedition was, but in any case Henry was free before the end of the year,[11] and by January he was nowhere to be found in Stade. We learn that Abigail was assuring everyone that he had gone back to England, but he was, in fact, hiding from his creditors in the city.[12] Little more than a year after their wedding, the fortunes of the Billingsleys had taken a decided turn for the worse.[13]

Of his sister's difficulties in Stade, however, Thomson may have known very little. He and Killigrew must have set out from Stade for Geneva a few days after the wedding celebrations, for Thomson was with Casaubon in Geneva when the latter wrote to Henry Savile on 3 November.[14] Thomson and Killigrew arrived to find that Casaubon was preparing to leave to take up a new position

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7 Lowe to Quarles, July 1597 (Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fol. 221^{r}).

8 Lowe to Quarles, letters of 4, 7 and 21 June 1597 (Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fols 210^{r}–214^{v}).

9 'Harry Byllyngsley is yet in prison … If he wuld procure suretyes for his body to be alwayes forthcominge, he might goe at lyberty; but he can procure none but his wifes kyndred here, whoe wyll not be accepted of; and he speaketh ernestly to me to give my word for hym, but I have refused hym, and soe wyll styll unlesse I have warrant from yowe or Mr Jackson … I feare the [Company] wyll have hym … from the Englishe house to the Towne prison' (Lowe to Quarles, 20 Dec. 1597, Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fol. 261^{r}).

10 Lowe to Quarles, 3, 16 and 22 November and 20 December 1597 (Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fols 236^{r}, 244^{r}, 248^{r}, 260^{r}–261^{v}).

11 Lowe to Quarles, 27 December 1597 (Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fol. 262^{r}).

12 Lowe to Quarles, 12 and 25 January 1598 (Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fols 266^{r}, 268^{r}).

13 Henry returned to London in early February 1598, but the affair was still not entirely resolved (Lowe to Quarles, 1 and 22 February 1598; Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fols 271^{r}, 277^{r}).

14 Casaubon to Savile, 3 November 1596: 'Et ex literis non unis Richardi Thomsonis, Savili clarissime, intellexi pridem, et nuper ex eiusdem sermone plenius cognovi, me … vicissim a te non vulgarem in modum diligi. Beavit me vir amicissimus isto nuntio …' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 104, p. 56).

at the University of Montpellier.[15] The English visitors stayed in the house of one of Casaubon's friends, although this host has not been identified.[16] It was probably during Thomson's second visit to Geneva, in 1596–1597, that he first met Denis Perrot.[17] Perrot studied medicine at Montpellier in the 1590s, where he is to be found with Casaubon in the spring of 1597.[18] In March of that year, Casaubon wrote to Denis' father Charles, and Denis carried this letter to Geneva along with at least four others of the same date addressed to Thomson, Esaïe Colladon, Theodore Beza and Jacques Bongars.[19] At this date, Thomson was evidently acquainted with Colladon, who had been professor of philosophy at Geneva since 1594, for ten days later Casaubon wrote again to Colladon, asking him to pass on his best wishes to Thomson.[20] To judge from their later correspondence, Thomson and Perrot were not close friends in Geneva, but Thomson made good use of his acquaintance when both men were in England in 1600 and 1601.

Thomson may have missed Casaubon, but by April he had acquired a copy of Casaubon's latest publication: an edition of the enormous Greek work of Athenaeus of Naucratis, *The Banquet of the Learned*, with a complete Latin translation, printed in Heidelberg. When Thomson acquired his own copy is unclear, but he was certainly among its very earliest readers: in May 1597, Scaliger wrote to Casaubon that he was still unable to buy a copy for himself.[21] On 10 April, Thomson informed Casaubon that his desire to continue reading this new edition was one of the reasons which detained him in Geneva. He expressed the hope that despite the book's size, he would be able to take it with

15 Casaubon wrote a lost letter to Thomson from Lyon, on the road to Montpellier, some time in the second half of November or in December 1596, as appears from Casaubon to Thomson, 1 January 1597 (pp. 205–207).

16 This host is mentioned in Casaubon's letters to Thomson of 17 February and 19 March 1597 (pp. 207–209; 209–211).

17 Their meeting at Geneva is recalled in Thomson to Perrot, 13 February [1600] (pp. 225–226).

18 For Denis (c. 1570–1621), see *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*, 13 vols, Geneva, 1962–2001, 10, p. 135, n. 43.

19 Casaubon to Charles Perrot, 19 March 1597, in Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 121, p. 66. Thomson, Colladon and Beza were in Geneva; Bongars was apparently in Strasbourg.

20 Casaubon to Colladon, 29 March 1597: 'Doctissimo et amicissimo Thomsoni excuses me velim, quod scribere nunc ad ipsum quitus non sum: scripsi ante paucos admodum dies, nihil moratus quod nullas ab ipso pridem accepissem. Et ipsi, et eius comiti nobili plurimam a me salutem' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 130, p. 71).

21 Scaliger to Casaubon, 6 May 1597, in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 37–39.

him to Italy and collate it with a manuscript in the Vatican Library.[22] Thomson's annotated copy of Casaubon's book survives today, preserved in the library of Exeter Cathedral.[23] It shows that he annotated the first fifty-nine pages of the edition with some attention; thereafter, however, it was hardly touched by his pen, and it was not collated. This evidence suggests that Thomson left the book behind in Geneva when he set out for Italy, retrieving it later on his return journey. The condition of the first sixty leaves of this copy, and the haste to which he refers in his letter to Casaubon, suggest that he read the book unbound, unwilling to lose what little time he had to spend with it to the binder.[24] Thomson's marginalia in his copy are often little more than signposts erected as he navigated himself around the text. The relative frequency of notices of Martial, however, indicate that that poet was still fresh in his mind in the spring of 1597,[25] while two references to contemporary German customs show that he was applying his own experience to this most dense of classical texts.[26]

Thomson's tutee Killigrew makes few direct appearances in the correspondence of the period, but we may safely suppose that he went wherever Thomson went. Casaubon sends Killigrew his regards from Montpellier on 1 January 1597 in terms that indicate that he had known him in Geneva, and he does so again in letters of February and March.[27] In April, it is Killigrew's illness which is delaying Thomson's departure from Geneva for Italy;[28] and in March

22 Thomson to Casaubon, 10 April 1597: 'Ego illum in Italiam mecum defero, nisi nimis sit oneri equo futurus' (p. 213).

23 For Thomson's copy of this book, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 17.

24 Thomson's copy has lost its title page, which may have carried an inscription from Casaubon. The second volume of the edition containing the commentary was published in 1600 and Casaubon inscribed a surviving copy to Thomson. Glucker claimed that the 1597 volume shows no sign of having belonged to Thomson (J. Glucker, 'A Presentation Copy of Casaubon's Athenaeus in Exeter Cathedral Library', *Pegasus*, 6, 1966, pp. 13–19, p. 15). This is untrue, although Thomson's name does not appear.

25 'Sic Martialis in *Xeniis* et *Apophoretis*' (p. 4); 'Mart. "Horas quinque puer …" et lib. 8. epigr. 67' (p. 8; Thomson's reference is correct); 'Ut postea Graecis et Romanis moris fuit. De quo saepe Lucian., Martial. et alii' (p. 13); 'Martial. fumea vina vocat' (p. 31, a reference to book XIII (*Xenia*), epig. 123).

26 'Panes in canistris appositi ut et nunc alibi fit in Germania' (p. 12); 'ἀσπασμὸς inter propinandum mos Saxoniae inferioris' (p. 13).

27 Casaubon's letters to Thomson of 1 January, 17 February and 19 March 1597 (pp. 205–207; 207–209; 209–211).

28 Thomson to Casaubon, 10 April 1597 (p. 213).

1599, we learn that Killigrew is with Thomson in Florence.[29] Thomson's role as guide to the young man on his Grand Tour was one for which he was very well suited by his continental connections, and his command of several European languages. Besides English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, he certainly knew Flemish and he probably knew German.[30] Most travel in the period was accomplished by attaching oneself to a larger party of merchants heading in the right direction: this was the sort of company which the gregarious Thomson found congenial, and with which he had long been familiar. The plan was to travel through Germany to Geneva, on to Venice, Siena, Florence, and Rome, and back to England via Montpellier and Paris.

Several later notices demonstrate that the connection endured after Thomson's return to England. Killigrew is mentioned in a letter of 1608 in terms which recall his time with Casaubon in Geneva: Killigrew is, says Thomson, 'quondam tuus et iam tuissimus'.[31] In 1611 Casaubon and Thomson are to be found together at Killigrew's country house discussing Arminian theology.[32] After Thomson's death, Thomas Farnaby dedicated his edition of Martial to Killigrew with words that indicate that Thomson had enjoyed his patronage.[33] The identification of Thomson's tutee adds a significant new chapter to Killigrew's biography.

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29 Thomson to Casaubon, 1 March 1599 (pp. 218–220).

30 Thomson may also have known some Italian before he went there in 1597. He ends one of his letters from Italy 'basta per adesso', a hint of his enthusiastic immersion in the language (Thomson to Casaubon, 1 March 1599, p. 220).

31 Thomson to Casaubon, 15 April 1608 (pp. 327–329).

32 Casaubon recorded in his diary for 10 January 1611 n.s.: 'Diem totum rure egi apud dominum Kilegrai [*sic*], cum veteri amico Thomsono. Ibi legi librum nuper editum a Petro Bertio *De apostasia sanctorum*' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, pp. 811–812). Most of the entries in Casaubon's diary are dated according to the Gregorian Calendar, even after his move to England in 1610. See, for example, the entry for 11 January (3 Id. Jan.) 1611, which he says is the first day of the new year in England (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 812). In May 1613, he changed to the Julian reckoning in use in England (ibid., p. 985).

33 Farnaby to Killigrew: 'Cuius potius auspiciis publicam indipiscantur lucem lucubrationes istae in Martialem quam cuius in fide ac clientela stetit floruitque ille qui, si mortalium alter, magna eminuit Martialis lux, Richardus Thomsonius?' (*M. Val. Martialis Epigrammatωn libri*, London, excudebat Felix Kingstonius impensis Gulielmi Welby, 1615, sig. A2r).

CHAPTER 13

Italy, April 1597–April 1599

Thomson intended to set out from Geneva on 13 April 1597,[1] and there is no reason to suppose that his departure was much delayed. He and Killigrew spent nearly two years in Italy, from which period just three letters survive, one of which is undated. This is a small number of sources for a complex part of Thomson's life, but it can be supplemented by a number of other pieces of evidence to produce a detailed account. The letters of Casaubon and Scaliger are particularly valuable for this period, for both men read letters from Thomson which have since been lost.

Like most northern Europeans, Thomson and his charge went first to Venice. The city seems to have made an impression on him: around 1601, after he had returned to England, Thomson recalled the way noble Venetian women would steady themselves on the shoulders of their servants as they walked about the city, balancing on their high *chopines*.[2] In Venice, he busied himself happily among the booksellers, buying at least two Greek manuscripts which have since found their way into the British Library.[3] He also cast an acquisitive eye on copies of several other ancient works. One manuscript he certainly acquired was a copy of the Greek treatise on siege engines by Athenaeus. This writer is usually surnamed 'Mechanicus' to distinguish him from Athenaeus of Naucratis whose *Banquet of the Learned* Casaubon had so recently edited. Since Thomson had been reading Casaubon's edition in Geneva, and since he knew that his friend was now working on a commentary on the work, he may have stumbled across a manuscript of Athenaeus Mechanicus while searching for copies of the work of Athenaeus of Naucratis. However he came across the manuscript, he was well enough informed to know that the work had never been printed.

Thomson was well aware of Casaubon's long-standing interest in Greek military writers. Casaubon had edited the Greek *Strategemata* of Polyaenus

1 See Thomson to Casaubon, 10 April 1597 (pp. 211–215).

2 Thomson recorded the observation in the margin of his copy of Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus of Naucratis: 'Talium frequens usus apud Venetos mulieribus nobilibus, quum in publicum prodeunt, ut humeris servorum imposita manu sese sustentent ambulantes' (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, p. 283). For Thomson's copy of this book, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 18.

3 See appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', nos 4 and 5.

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in 1589, and from his commentary on that work we learn that he owned a manuscript of the military treatise attributed to the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI.[4] Casaubon was also at this date preparing an edition of Polybius, the soldier's historian, and he would subsequently edit the work on siegecraft by Aeneas Tacticus. Thomson had been aware of Athenaeus Mechanicus since at least 1595, when he had offered to make available to Casaubon a manuscript of his work in England,[5] and Scaliger had attempted to get a copy from Thomson with no success.[6] This English copy, Thomson informs us, was in an Oxford library, and he may have had in mind a Greek manuscript recorded at Magdalen College in 1600.[7] From Venice, Thomson made amends for his earlier neglect by sending Casaubon a copy of Athenaeus Mechanicus, with a request that he forward it to Scaliger.

The fortunes of this manuscript copy are worth following in some detail. Casaubon received Thomson's gift before the end of 1597,[8] and he read it with enthusiasm. However, he did not forward it to Scaliger: it is likely that he was reluctant to part with a work so congenial to his own interests. Instead, he had an unidentified scribe make a copy of the text, which he then corrected rapidly in his own hand. This scribe may have omitted the illustrations which were in

4 In his commentary on Polyaenus, having quoted Leo's treatise in Greek, Casaubon wrote: 'Descripsimus totum hunc locum ex libris manuscriptis nostris in tuam, lector, gratiam, cui Leonem Graece loquentem nondum, ut puto, audire contigit' (*Polyaeni Strategematum libri octo*, Lyon, apud Ioan. Tornaesium, 1589, p. 696).

5 On 9 August 1595, Thomson wrote to Casaubon from London: 'Caeterum de Athenaeo nolim te negligere. Si tibi usui esse possunt Athenaei sive illius sive alterius mechanica, quae hic manuscripto Graece extant, dabo operam ut habeas' (pp. 201–202).

6 As Thomson wrote to Casaubon in an undated letter of May–October 1597: 'Scaliger, ut olim tibi narravi, magno opere illas Athenaei scidas a me petiit, et parum abfuit quin res meas mihi habere mandasset, quod illas ex Anglia, ubi in bibliotheca Oxoniensi extabant, non misissem olim' (p. 216).

7 'Liber Graece Περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν παρασκευῶν, *Athanasio* [*sic*] quodam auctore. Pr. οὐ βασιλικὴ' (James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600, p. 35). No Athanasius wrote on *tactica*, and Thomson may have supposed that the name was a slip for Athenaeus. The *incipit* recorded by James does not appear in Athenaeus Mechanicus, but it is the beginning of the first sentence, after an opening prayer, of the military treatise of Emperor Leo VI (G. Dennis, ed. *The Taktika of Leo VI*, Washington D.C., 2014, p. 2). Leo's work is attributed to Julius Africanus in some sixteenth-century manuscripts (e.g. Salamanca, ms. 2751, fols 195^{r}–428^{v}), and a corruption of this false attribution may have led to the ascription of the work to 'Athanasius'.

8 Casaubon to Scaliger, 27 December 1597: 'accepi a Thomsone nostro Athenaei *Mechanica*, libellum paucularum chartarum, imo (ut dicam cum antiquis criticis) στίχων ὀλιγίστων vel eo tamen nomine, quod lucem necdum vidit, πολυτίμητον et vere χρυσοῦ ἀντάξιον' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 76).

the manuscript sent by Thomson.[9] Scaliger, meanwhile, had been informed by both Thomson and Casaubon of the manuscript and was becoming impatient to have it. Casaubon finally sent the scribal copy to Scaliger in June 1598, explaining that the delay was due to the difficulty in finding a secure route for the manuscript.[10]

There is today a manuscript of Athenaeus Mechanicus among Scaliger's manuscripts preserved at Leiden University Library, but it is not the copy which Casaubon sent in June 1598. The Leiden manuscript, now bound with a number of unrelated works, is just seven leaves long, of which the last is nearly blank. It includes the works of Athenaeus Mechanicus and the work of Bito on siege engines all in the same practiced Greek hand, not Thomson's; it has its illustrations, rather crudely executed; and it has on the final leaf a brief note of ownership in Thomson's hand.[11] This note on the final leaf, and the absence of corrections in Casaubon's hand, indicate that the Leiden manuscript is not the copy which Casaubon made for Scaliger, and it is thus probably the copy which Thomson had commissioned in Venice. Its presence among Scaliger's papers in Leiden is not explained by the correspondence between the two men. Casaubon may have finally sent Thomson's gift to Scaliger some years later, perhaps in 1606 when he heard a rumour that Scaliger was working on an edition of the Greek authors on *tactica*.[12] Casaubon's library

9 Casaubon to Scaliger, 8 June 1598: 'Legi eum libellum, simul in meas manus venit, avidissime: ac quoniam ei describendo otium non suppeditabat, iussi amanuensem id facere: ille vero mendas τοῦ αὐτογράφου sic multiplicavit, ut vere dici posset οὐδὲν ὑγιές. Contuli equidem qua potui diligentia: sed persuasus, te, qui potes hodie solus, id scriptum recensiturum, fui in eo negotio omissior, praesertim cum non esset ad manum qui figuras imitaretur ibi expressas. Audio latere alicubi Lutetiae integrius aliquod eius libelli exemplar' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 139).

10 Casaubon to Scaliger, 8 June 1598: 'Athenaei *Mechanica* mitto ecce tibi, praestantissime Scaliger. Non dubito longam tibi visam hanc moram, homini in talibus ὀχυπείνῳ. Sed … constitueram non ante e manibus meis illa mittere quam tu mihi viam indicasses quae satis tuta videretur. … Pluribus haec tibi, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν, expono, ut scias me ᾗ ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρωπίνῃ προνοίᾳ sedulo cavisse ne periret in tam longa via pulcherrimum istud nostri Thomsonis κειμήλιον' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 138).

11 It is now bound as the second item in Leiden, University Library, Scal. 39, fols 17^{r}–23^{v}. The note of ownership 'Richardi Thomsonis' is on fol. 23^{v}. See *Codices Manuscripti II: Codices Scaligerani* (*Praeter Orientales*), Leiden, 1910, p. 11.

12 For the rumour, see Casaubon to Scaliger, 7 November 1606 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 599–600). The Leiden manuscript is probably among those to which Scaliger referred in Scaliger to Charles Labbé, 22 November 1606: 'De Tacticis non potui continere risum homines putare me suscipere aliquid quod nunquam

did once contain a manuscript which matches the description of Thomson's copy,[13] but its identification is uncertain.

This story shows that Thomson had a very good eye for what would interest the scholars of his day, and that he knew which ancient works had been edited and which had not. In the following century English travellers were warned to beware of unscrupulous Venetian booksellers who exaggerated the age and rarity of their manuscripts.[14] Thomson's learning fortified him against such tricks: he had only been in Venice for a matter of weeks before he had acquired at least two rare Greek manuscripts, and a copy of an unpublished Greek treatise which neither Scaliger nor Casaubon, the two greatest Greek scholars of the day, had ever read. This was a very promising start to his Italian stay.

A letter to Casaubon from Venice in 1597 anticipates a stay in Siena, but Thomson's journey from Venice must have taken him at least as far as Rome. He had certainly intended to visit the Vatican Library in order to collate Casaubon's edition of Athenaeus of Naucratis with a manuscript there, although in the event he seems to have left the bulky edition behind in Geneva.[15] Some collations of Polybius which Thomson brought back from Italy may have been made from manuscripts in the Vatican, but these collations have not come to light and their sources are uncertain.[16] Taken together, however, these notices allow the construction of a likely itinerary. Back in England a few years later, Thomson recalled a conversation which he had with the learned collector Gian Vincenzo

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mihi in somnis quidem hactenus in mentem venit. Nescio unde illis haec persuasio incesserit, nisi fortasse quod quaedam ἀποσπασμάτια τῶν τακτικῶν habeam' (ibid., 6, p. 620).

13 H.H.E. Craster, 'Casaubon's Greek MSS', *Bodleian Library Quarterly*, 5, 1926–1928, pp. 97–100, p. 98, no. 7: 'Athenaeus de machinis et Bitonis κατασκευή. Folio. … ἀκέφαλος. … Sine tegmine'. Casaubon has a single bald note on Athenaeus Mechanicus in his commentary on the *Augustan History*: 'Videtur ille ipse esse cuius hodieque in multis bibliothecis libellus extat *De machinis bellicis*' (Casaubon, ed. *Historiae Augustae scriptores*, Paris, Ambrosius et Hieronymus Drouart, 1603, part 2 (notes), p. 462, referring to the work of 'Trebellius Pollio' in *Gallieni Duo*, 13.6).

14 James Howell, *Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell*, London, printed by W.W. for Humphrey Moseley, 1650, pp. 58–59.

15 See chapter 12, 'Geneva, October? 1596–April 1597', pp. 48–49.

16 Scaliger wrote to Casaubon on 11 January 1606: 'Ad Polybium te convertisse quantum laetatus sim alteris literis significavi …. Puto te vidisse omnes varias lectiones Vaticani. Sed, nisi fallor, non aliae sunt praeter eas quas Fulvius in fragmentis apposuit. Richardus Thomson noster attulit quaedam ex Italia. Arbitror eadem esse' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 261–262).

Pinelli over dinner.[17] This meeting appears to have taken place in Padua, a regular halt on the road to Siena. Thomson would certainly have been eager to examine Pinelli's famous manuscript collection, and there is evidence that he was granted access.[18] He is able to report that Pinelli owned a manuscript of Procopius' *Secret History*, a work which Bonaventura Vulcanius intended to publish.[19] From Padua he would have passed through Ferrara and Bologna; his stays in these places were apparently brief, for when we find him again in August he had clearly been in Florence for some time.

In fact, Thomson seems to have spent most of his time in Italy in Florence, busying himself among the libraries. There he acquired a manuscript of another unpublished work, the lexicon of Photius.[20] The lexicon is recorded among the manuscripts of the Strozzi family in sixteenth-century catalogues, but did not join the rest of the collection in Paris after it was acquired for the Royal Library in 1599.[21] Evidently, by that date it had been bought by Thomson. He had certainly seen it by the summer of 1598, for he spoke of it in a lost letter to Scaliger. Scaliger, in his turn, wrote of it to Casaubon on 12 August.[22] Scaliger's words imply that Thomson had consulted, but not yet acquired the manuscript, but he certainly had it by the time he left Italy in 1599, and it went with him to England. The subsequent fortunes of this manuscript will be considered later; for the present, it is enough to note that in the late 1590s interest in Photius was growing: an edition of his *Library*, a work of much greater significance than the lexicon, was underway in Augsburg by 1597 and would be

17 See Thomson to Vulcanius, 5 February 1600 (pp. 222–225).

18 For the collection, see M. Grendler, 'A Greek Collection in Padua: The Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)', *Renaissance Quarterly* 1980, pp. 386–416.

19 See Thomson to Vulcanius, 5 February 1600: 'Pinellus habet ἀνέκδοτα Procopii, quae si hactenus non es nactus, inde censeo petas. Vir est humanissimus et doctissimus, ac, quod familiam ducit, tui studiosus, quod coram profecto olim cognovi cum tui mentio iniecta esset in mensa' (p. 224). Vulcanius had corresponded with Pinelli about manuscripts of Procopius by 1597: see Vulcanius' letter to Jacques-Auguste de Thou of September 1597 (*Sylloge scriptorum varii generis et argumenti*, London, excudi curavit Samuel Buckley, 1733, vol. 7, part 9, p. 32).

20 Now Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. 0.3.9. It has brief Latin marginalia, most of which identify the sources for the lexical entries. Some of these names may be in Thomson's hand.

21 For the fortunes of this manuscript, see chapter 20, 'The Lexicon of Photius'.

22 Scaliger to Casaubon, 12 August 1598: 'Scribit ad me Florentia Thomson noster .... Addit se Photii *Lexicon* vidisse, ex quo non levem fructum perceperit' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 167).

published there in 1601.[23] Thomson had travelled through Germany on his way to Italy in 1596, and appears to have returned via Augsburg in 1599.[24] There is every likelihood that he was aware of this activity, and by uncovering the lexicon, he placed himself at the cutting edge of the literary scholarship of his day.

In Florence, Thomson secured for posterity another prize, one more valuable than either the work of Athenaeus Mechanicus or the lexicon of Photius. During his time in the city, he was able to copy some previously unpublished extracts from the universal history of the ancient Greek author Diodorus of Sicily. Diodorus' history was composed on a grand scale in the first century BC, in forty books of uneven merit. Of these, just fifteen are preserved complete today.[25] Thomson's copy transmitted to us fragments from books 21–26. His contribution to the text of Diodorus is acknowledged by David Hoeschel in the preface to his edition of a substantial Byzantine compilation, the extracts *De legationibus*, published in 1603.[26] These fragments of Diodorus, said Hoeschel, had been found by Thomson in a manuscript owned by a Florentine, Lodovico Alamanni. Lodovico, a rather obscure figure, appears to have been the brother of the better known Luigi di Pier Alamanni, a poet and a member of the Accademia della Crusca.[27] The fragments from Diodorus have been known ever since as the *Eclogae Hoeschelianae*, for since neither Alamanni's manuscript nor Thomson's copy of it have survived, Hoeschel's *editio princeps* is now the primary source. It does seem unfair that posterity should have given Hoeschel all the credit: without Thomson's intervention these fragments might have been lost forever. He recognised their value, made a copy, and delivered them in person to one of the few contemporary editors likely to publish them imme-

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23 Andreas Schott wrote to Scaliger on 26 October 1597 that he had given a manuscript of the work to Hoeschel: 'Photii Μυριόβιβλον item attuli et tradidi Davidi Hoeschelio qui molitur, rogatus a me, et doctis gratum opus futurum ut spero et opto' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 64).

24 See chapter 15, 'Augsburg, Autumn 1599?'.

25 For the survival of the work of Diodorus of Sicily, see S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn, Oxford, 2003, pp. 472–473, *s. v.* 'Diodorus (3)'.

26 'His corollarium addidimus eclogas librorum Diodori Siculi amissorum, quas e codice Ludovici Alemanni Florentini doctissimus R. Thomson Anglus mecum communicavit' (*Eclogae legationum, Dexippi Atheniensis, Eunapii Sardiani, Petri Patricii et Magistri, Prisci Sophistae, Malchi Philadelphensis, Menandri Protectoris. Cum corollario excerptorum e libris Diodori Siculi amissis, XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. Omnia e mss. cod. a Davide Hoeschelio ... edita*, Augsburg, Johannes Praetorius, 1603, sig. a3v). Hoeschel's preface is dated April 1603.

27 For Luigi di Pier Alamanni (1558–1603), see C. Rotondi, 'Alamanni, Luigi', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 1, 1960, p. 571.

diately. Thomson's combination of insight, resources, energy and connections was exactly what was needed to save the fragments from oblivion.

While in Italy, Thomson also sought out the works of the great scholar Angelo Poliziano, a figure as highly regarded in northern Europe as in his native Florence. Thomson's consultation of Poliziano's literary remains suggests that there he gained access to the contents of the Medici Library. In these researches, as in many of his others, Thomson took his cue from Casaubon. Knowing that Casaubon was preparing an edition of the *Augustan History*,[28] Thomson looked at Poliziano's printed copy of the work and recorded Poliziano's marginalia and emendations.[29] He subsequently shared these notes with Casaubon, although Casaubon in his edition of 1603 observed that they were not of great value for the constitution of the text. In fact, said Casaubon, they demonstrated that the Italians had no better manuscript sources for the text of the *Augustan History* than northern European scholars.[30] Thomson also collected variant readings of two other Latin historians in Italy, Suetonius and Ammianus Marcellinus.[31] Given Poliziano's well attested interest in Suetonius, Thomson may well have done some of this work in Florence too.[32] Thomson had already sent

28 Casaubon's edition was not published until 1603, but he had acquired a privilege to print it dated 21 January 1598: see Casaubon, ed. *Historiae Augustae scriptores*, Paris, Ambrosius et Hieronymus Drouart, 1603, sig. 4h1v.

29 Poliziano's printed edition (Milan, Filippo da Lavagna, 1475) with his marginalia is still in Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ** Inc. Banco Rari 91. This copy is described in A. Perosa, ed. *Mostra del Poliziano nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: Manoscritti, libri rari, autografi e documenti. Firenze, 23 settembre–30 novembre 1954*, Florence, 1955, no. 6, pp. 20–21. Poliziano cites 'Capitolinus', one of the supposed authors of the *Augustan History*, in article number 3 of his first *Miscellany*, published in 1489.

30 In the *Prolegomena* to Casaubon's notes on the *Augustan History*: 'Quare etsi mendis gravissimis nostrum scatet, nihilo tamen Italica illa sunt meliora, quorum superioris aevi criticos mentionem video fecisse. Plane illud quo usus olim Angelus Politianus in codice suo emendando, cuius fecit nobis copiam Richardus Thomson amicissimus noster, regio fuit geminum …' (Casaubon, ed. *Historiae Augustae scriptores*, Paris, Ambrosius et Hieronymus Drouart, 1603, sig. i2r; Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, p. 35).

31 See Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600 (pp. 235–239). This letter is the third time Thomson has mentioned his notes on Suetonius: see Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 1 March 1599 and 28 February 1600 (pp. 218–220, 227–229). He had sent them from Italy by March 1599.

32 Poliziano's prolusion to his lectures on Suetonius was regularly printed with the works of both writers throughout the sixteenth century. See also V. Fera, ed. *Una ignota Expositio Suetoni del Poliziano*, Messina, 1983. Poliziano's printed copy of the *Augustan History* also included the text of Suetonius which Poliziano noted that he had collated with at least three manuscripts. For details of the book, see this chapter, note 29.

Casaubon a copy of some of Justus Lipsius' notes on Suetonius in 1594,[33] and Casaubon had published an edition of Suetonius in 1595.[34] When this edition was reprinted in 1610, Casaubon personally inscribed a copy to Thomson.[35]

Thomson made a record of another set of Poliziano's notes in Florence, this time on Statius' *Silvae*. Poliziano's interest in these poems was well known to all sixteenth-century scholars.[36] All extant manuscripts of the *Silvae* derive from a copy made for Poggio Bracciolini in 1417.[37] Poliziano recorded his collation of this manuscript in the margins of a copy of the *editio princeps* of Statius' *Silvae*,[38] and by Thomson's day these notes had been printed many times.[39] When Thomson sent Scaliger a set of Poliziano's notes on the *Silvae*, it was probably a copy of this collation, probably made directly from the *editio princeps*.[40] Still,

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33 Thomson wrote to Casaubon from Stade on 30 May 1594: 'Mitto igitur Lipsii quaedam fragmenta et (uti vides) rudera, quae olim ille hic ad Suetonium' (p. 180). Lipsius had published observations on Suetonius in various works by this date. Thomson's 'hic' suggest that these notes were compiled in Germany, perhaps while Lipsius taught at the University of Jena, 1572–1574. Thomson may have sent a manuscript of a work which was later published in Germany: *I. Lipsii ad C. Suetonii Tranquilli tres posteriores libros commentarii. Eiusdem epistolarum praetermissarum Decades sex*, Offenbach, typis Conrad Nebenii, 1610. The brief anonymous preface *Ad lectorem* states that these notes on Suetonius were taken down by a student from Lipsius' lectures.

34 *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus libri VIII. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit et animadversionum libros adiecit; additi sunt et Suetonii libelli De illustribus grammaticis et De claris rhetoribus*, [Geneva], apud Iacobum Chouët, 1595.

35 *C. Suetonii Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus libri VIII. Eiusdem De inlustribus grammaticis et De claris rhetoribus*, Paris, apud Sebastianum Cramoysi, 1610. The inscribed copy is London, British Library, shelfmark 1486.gg.2. For Thomson's copy, see also chapter 23, 'Thomson's Hebrew', and appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 31.

36 His commentary on the *Silvae* was published in the twentieth century: L. Cesarini Martinelli, ed. *Commento inedito alle Selve di Stazio: Angelo Poliziano*, Florence, 1978.

37 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 3678: see H.-J. van Dam, 'The Coming of the *Silvae* to the Netherlands', in F. Delarue, ed. *Epicedion. Hommage à P. Papinius Statius 96–1996*, Poitiers, 1996, pp. 315–325, pp. 322–323.

38 The *editio princeps* was printed in Venice in 1475. For a description of the book, now Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 50.F.37, see A. Perosa, ed. *Mostra del Poliziano nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: Manoscritti, libri rari, autografi e documenti. Firenze, 23 settembre–30 novembre 1954*, Florence, 1955, no. 1, pp. 13–16. For Poliziano's notes, see M.D. Reeve, 'Politian and Statius' *Silvae*', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, n. s., 49, pp. 285–286, p. 285; M.D. Reeve, 'Statius' *Silvae* in the Fifteenth Century', *Classical Quarterly*, n. s., 27, 1, 1977, pp. 202–225, p. 203.

39 See, for example, Poliziano, *Epistolae*, book VI, no. 1 (*Omnia opera Angeli Politiani*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1498, sigs g5v–g7v).

40 See Scaliger's letter to Casaubon of 12 August 1598, and De Thuméry's letters to Scaliger

Thomson's copy has not come to light, and there remains a possibility that he copied something else by Poliziano on Statius. Thomson was particularly interested in the text of the *Silvae*, and corresponded with Petrus Scriverius on the matter after his return to England in 1600.[41] It would be surprising if Thomson, otherwise so well informed, had been unaware of the printed collation.

Thomson was very industrious in Italy. In addition to the work outlined above, he also made notes on the text of Aristotle's *History of Animals* which he later sent to Scaliger. Scaliger, Thomson knew, was preparing an edition of his father's work on this ancient treatise.[42] We learn too that Thomson had accumulated variant readings from Theophrastus, Ovid, and Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*.[43] He collated a copy of Arrian's record of Epictetus' teaching with an Italian manuscript, perhaps in response to Casaubon's suggestion of 1594 that he edit the text.[44] Thomson is likely to have acquired a Greek manuscript of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* while in Italy, although the evidence for this is circumstantial. He sent a Greek *Cyropaedia* to Scaliger on his return to England in 1601.[45] Since Thomson is unlikely to have been able to send abroad a

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of 25 March and 27 May 1600 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 165–167, 403–405, 430–431). Scaliger had received the notes by July, and returned them before the end of the year (Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July and 26 December 1600; pp. 233–235 and 249–251).

41 See chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

42 Thomson later told Casaubon of it. See Casaubon to Scaliger, 23 October 1600: 'Nuper quidem incredibili gaudio literis suis Thompson noster nos affecit; quibus significabat, commentarios panepistemonis illius sophi in *De historia animalium* opera tua isthic edi' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 511). Scaliger's reply to Casaubon described a recent setback to the project with the departure of Franciscus Dousa: see Scaliger to Casaubon, 17 November 1600: 'Verum tibi dixit Thomson noster de commentario parentis mei in τὰ Περὶ ζῴων ἱστορίας. Sed huic operi intervenit calamitas …' (ibid., p. 521). The work was not published until both Scaliger and Thomson were dead: *Aristotelis Historia de animalibus, Iulio Caesare Scaligero interprete, cum eiusdem commentariis. … Accedit fragmentum quod decimus historiarum inscribitur*, Toulouse, D. et P. Bosc, 1619.

43 See Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600 (pp. 235–239).

44 On 27 July 1608, Jacques Bongars wrote to Scaliger: 'Monsieur, j'oubliay vous escrivant il y a huict jours à vous dire que Monsieur Thomson à Cambridge a un Arrienus sur Epictete, conferé en Italie, combien que assez rarement; toutesfois la veue n'en peut nuire' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, p. 586). For Casaubon's suggestion that Thomson edit the text, and for his offer to place some of his own material at Thomson's disposal, see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594 (pp. 173–178). Thomson demurred in a letter to Casaubon of 30 May 1594 (pp. 178–184).

45 Denis Perrot, in London, to Scaliger, 1 December 1601: 'Vous recepvrez quant et la presente

manuscript he did not own, it was probably his own property; and since he sent it during the year following his return from Italy, there is a good chance he acquired it there. The case is no stronger than that. No manuscript of Xenophon is among the *codices Scaligeriani* preserved today in Leiden, so it is likely that Scaliger returned it to Thomson when he had finished with it. It has not, however, been traced.

There is a discernible pattern to Thomson's activities in Italy: he was trying to make himself useful to others, in particular to Casaubon and to Scaliger, men whose work he admired and knew well. But his interest in the work of Gregory of Nazianzen predated his friendship with both men and seems to have been his own. In the 1590s, Thomson gave a printed volume of Gregory's work to his friend John Overall.[46] He carried this interest in Gregory with him to Italy a few years later, and there he collated his own volume of the two invectives of Gregory against the Emperor Julian with manuscript copies which he found in Italy. Once back in England, he gave these collations to Richard Mountague, who used them to prepare his edition for Savile's new Greek press at Eton.[47] It is very likely that Thomson received a copy of Mountague's edition from its editor on publication, but no such copy has been located.

In Italy, Thomson also found himself in the company of Henry Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, and a fellow of Merton College. Cuffe would be executed in 1601 for his part in the Essex rebellion, but in the late 1590s his star was in the ascendant. His activities in Italy are obscure—he is likely to have been gathering intelligence for his patron—but he and Thomson were probably in Padua together, and he may have been discussing Photius there in the house of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli in the spring of 1597. Certainly, a handful of Cuffe's notes on the Greek text of Photius seem to

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le Cyrus manuscript que ledict Seigneur Thomson me laissa dernierement s'en retournant à Cambridge, avec celles qu'il m'a envoyées depuis pour vous faire tenir …' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, p. 128).

46 For this volume, see chapter 5, 'England, 1591–May 1592', p. 15, and appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 5.

47 See Mountague's preface to the reader: 'Vir doctissimus Richardus Thomson … suum codicem communicavit, cum scriptis collatum in Italia, atque is est quem per "Th." intelligimus' (Mountague, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni in Iulianum invectivae duae*, Eton, John Norton, 1610, sig. ¶4v). Thomson's 'codex' was no doubt a printed edition. That it was collated with more than one Italian manuscript appears from the first page of Mountague's notes on the invectives: '… sic habent omnes libri scripti et excusi, nisi quod in quibusdam codicibus quibus olim in Italia usus est vir doctissimus Richardus Thomson noster, scriptum fuit …' (ibid., sig. a1^{r}).

have found their way into Pinelli's papers at this date.[48] Cuffe matriculated at the University of Padua in July 1597;[49] Thomson, despite his well-documented enthusiasm for matriculation, did not.

Cuffe and Thomson were also in Florence together. The former was there from September 1597 until at least March of the following year.[50] During Cuffe's time in Florence, he bought books for Merton College and became a member of the Accademia della Crusca.[51] It may even have been Cuffe's good standing with the Grand Duke of Tuscany which allowed Thomson to gain access to Poliziano's literary remains. It was also during this period that Cuffe assisted Raphael Columbanius with the first printing of the Greek text of Longus' romance *Daphnis and Chloe*, published in Florence in 1598. From the commentary to this edition, we learn that Thomson too contributed to the text.[52] The edition was based on a Greek manuscript from the library of Luigi Alamanni, probably the same library in which Thomson discovered the extracts from Diodorus.

48 Cuffe's notes, a single leaf, are Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. Q. 122 sup, fol. 124^{r}, entitled 'Henr. Cuffi notae in Photii fol.'.

49 J. Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy 1485–1603*, Toronto, 1998, p. 229.

50 Cuffe's autograph letter to an unnamed man, perhaps Edward Reynolds, dated 9 October [1597], is now Hatfield, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 55/106. Cuffe's autograph letter to Savile, dated 6 January [1598] n.s., is now Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 58/91. In the former, Cuffe records that he arrived in Florence at the end of September, and that he has been moving in literary circles. An unpublished letter written to David Hoeschel from London by the Dutch scholar Jacob Cool (Colius Ortelianus; 1563–1628) on 1 May 1598 suggests that Cuffe had travelled in Italy with Cool, and that Cuffe's arrival in London was imminent: 'Henricus Cuffe itinerario mei comes etiam hic brevi exspectatur, qui et in aere tuo se fatetur' (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 905, p. 61). Cool was in Italy July–October 1597 (J.H. Hessels, ed. *Abrahami Ortelii … et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Iacobum Colium Ortelianum … epistulae*, Cambridge, 1887, pp. 726–741). By September 1598, Cuffe was in Paris. See P.E.J. Hammer, 'Cuffe [Cuff], Henry (1562/3–1601)', ODNB, 2004, 14, pp. 569–570; *isdem*, 'The Use of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c. 1585–1601', *English Historical Review*, 109, 1994, pp. 26–51, p. 38.

51 J.M. Fletcher, *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1567–1603*, Oxford, 1976, p. 327, under the entries for 1597: 'Consensum est de centum marcis mittendis magistro Cuf in partibus transmarinis degenti ad libros in usum librariae emendos'.

52 'Quem locum exhibuit nobis ex ms. codice Richardus Thomson Anglus, vir humanissimus ac doctissimus, qui et alias nobis profuit' (*Longi Pastoralium, de Daphnide et Chloe libri quatuor. Ex Bibliotheca Aloisii Alamannii*, Florence, P. Giunta, 1598, p. 92). He supplied a passage from Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Musicians*, 24, from one of his own manuscripts: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', no. 12.

By the summer of 1598, with Cuffe now gone, the charms of Florence had lost their hold on Thomson: Scaliger wrote to Casaubon in August 1598 that Thomson was unimpressed by the learning of Florence's citizens, but that he was unable to leave the city.[53] Thomson's lost letter to Scaliger looks likely to have contained a swipe at the Florentine learned societies in general and perhaps against the Accademia della Crusca in particular. His desire to leave may be connected with the departure of Cuffe and his companions in the spring of 1598. It is unclear what detained him in Italy: perhaps his companion and ward Killigrew was unwilling to leave before his three-year licence to travel expired in May 1599.[54] Thomson's visit, after all, was probably financed by the Killigrew family. Whatever the reason, Thomson was still to be found writing from Florence in March 1599, but now he announces that his departure from Italy is imminent and that he intends to stay with Casaubon in France on his return journey to England.[55] By 5 April he was in Venice, where he signed the *album amicorum* of the Scot Thomas Seget.[56]

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53 Scaliger to Casaubon, 12 August 1598: 'Scribit ad me Florentia Thomson noster se invitum illic detineri, ubi se nihil videre quo patriam deserere cogeretur, neque uspiam magis frigere bona studia atque adeo literatos ipsos' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 167).

54 For the terms of this licence, see chapter 11, 'England, June 1594–August? 1596', p. 45.

55 Thomson to Casaubon, 1 March 1599: 'proxima septimana ex Italia cogitamus. In transitu autem te videbo, ubi ubi eris …. Quare circa ultimum Aprilem para hospitalium …' (p. 220).

56 'Martial: Semper bonus homo tiro est. Hermes: ὁ εὐσεβῶν ἄκρως φιλοσοφεῖ. Doctissimo, humanissimo amicissimoque Thomae Segeto Scoto amoris et benivolentiae [*sic*] causa L.M.P. Richardus Thomson Anglicus, Venetiis a. d. Non. April. 1599' (S. Gattei, 'The Wandering Scot: Thomas Seget's *album amicorum*', *Nuncius*, 28, 2013, pp. 345–363, p. 432). The quotation from Martial, *Epigrams*, XII.51.2, appears in Thomson's inscription in the *album* of Daniel Burchgrave: see chapter 19, 'Visitors to Cambridge', note 5. The Greek phrase, from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, was written by Thomson on two of his books: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', nos 1 and 6.

CHAPTER 14

Paris, July 1599

Thomson was in Paris by July 1599. He had probably travelled from Italy by ship to Montpellier to stay with Casaubon, but found that Casaubon was not at home: he was in Lyon, a guest at the house of Méric de Vic, where he was staying while seeing his commentary on Athenaeus of Naucratis through the press. As we have seen, Thomson had in his possession on his return from Italy a manuscript of the lexicon of Photius. He later sent this manuscript to Scaliger at Leiden and to Casaubon at Paris, which suggests that he did not visit either man on his journey back to England. Frustrated in his attempts to see Casaubon in Montpellier, he moved on to Paris. On 7 July 1599, Pierre du Moulin wrote from Paris to Scaliger with an affectionate notice:

> I saw Thomson yesterday, newly arrived from Italy. He dresses like an Italian, claims loudly that he's an Englishman, drinks beer, plays the critic, and has an unusually large beer-belly. I love the man, he makes me laugh.[1]

Du Moulin had known Thomson for several years by this date, and enjoyed his enthusiasm, and his incongruous mix of nationalities.[2] Thomson seems to have taken a similar pleasure in his roles.

There are a number of echoes of Thomson's time in Paris in later letters. While there he discussed Vulcanius' projected edition of Procopius with some Parisian scholars. They bemoaned the delays to its publication—in the event the work would never appear—and Thomson loyally defended his former teacher.[3] While in Paris, he also heard rumours that Casaubon was to relocate there, and promised to visit him when he did so.[4] He repeated this promise a

1 Du Moulin to Scaliger, 7 July 1599: 'Tompsonum heri vidi ex Italia reversum novissime. Et is quidem sub Italo habitu, Anglum crepat, et cervisiam bibit, et criticus est, et circunfert aqualiculum solito amplius: amo hominem, et rideo' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 294–295).

2 See chapter 5, 'England, 1591–May 1592', pp. 17–18.

3 See Thomson to Vulcanius, 5 February 1600: 'Parisienses uti anno coniicebam aegre ferunt hanc moram et inclementer tibi dicunt, quibus tamen multa et accurate respondi' (p. 224).

4 See Thomson to Casaubon, 28 February 1600: 'Cum Parisiis essem, de adventu tuo ad illam Academiam certa et constans erat fama' (p. 228).

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few months later,[5] but he never visited Paris in the ten years that Casaubon remained there.

5 The promise is repeated in Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600 (p. 237).

CHAPTER 15

Augsburg, Autumn 1599?

From France, Thomson did not take the shortest route to England via Dieppe or Calais, or the slightly longer road via Holland and his Dutch friends; instead, he visited Augsburg, a significant diversion.[1] His plan must have been to visit his family and then board a ship for London from Stade. His father was still alive, and apparently still living in Stade, and his brother Emanuel is recorded in the city in 1603.[2]

We know of the visit to Augsburg because Thomson left an important manuscript there with David Hoeschel. The manuscript, acquired in Italy and discussed above, contained unpublished extracts from lost books of Diodorus of Sicily. The extracts are noticed in a later letter from Thomson to Casaubon, from which we learn that the plan was to publish them as an appendix to the *editio princeps* of the *Library* of Photius, then being prepared by Hoeschel in Augsburg.[3] The *Library* was published in 1601, but the new fragments were not included; instead they were published two years later as an appendix to Hoeschel's edition of the Byzantine compilation usually known as the *Extracts on the Legations* in 1603.[4] Hoeschel presumably felt that they belonged more naturally with the latter edition than the former. No doubt Thomson's gift made him a welcome guest in Augsburg, and since Hoeschel was preparing the works of Photius for the press at this date, Thomson must have shown him Photius' lexicon, among the more notable of his acquisitions from his time in Italy.

1 The visit to Augsburg must have taken place after Thomson left Italy in the spring of 1599, but before December 1599, when he was in England. He probably visted Paris first.

2 Emanuel Thomson signed the preface to his translation of the *Basilikon doron* from Stade on 18 October 1603. See K.J. Höltgen, 'Wer war Emanuel Sonthom?', *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 7, 1983, p. 156.

3 Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600: 'Eglogas aliquot librorum Diodori Siculi, quae in Photiae *Bibliotheca* non erant, apud Hoeschelium reliqui, adiecturum se recepit ad calcem *Bibliothecae* instar mantisae' (p. 238).

4 Hoeschel talks of the extracts in a letter to Scaliger of 5 June 1602: 'His appendicum vice adiungerem excerpta e chronicis Diodori … eclogas, e libro 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26; horum principium est hoc: Πᾶσαν μὲν κακίαν φευκτέον ἐστὶ …' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, p. 287). See also Scaliger to Hoeschel, 18 October 1602: 'Gratias ago de libello Graeco Theodoreti et aliorum, quem heri accepi. Sed utinam una accepissem τὰ Δεξίππου et quae alia habes veterum ἱστορούμενα, quae tibi reliquit Thomson! Expecto illa in proximas nundinas, nisi mihi somnia fingo' (ibid., pp. 429–430).

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Thomson was responsible for another service to the Greek press in Augsburg. In January 1600, Casaubon sent to Hoeschel's patron and collaborator Marcus Welser a manuscript of an anonymous geographical poem, noting that he had had it from Scaliger through the intervention of Thomson.[5] Welser had a copy made and returned the original to Casaubon the following month.[6] The poem was published alongside a number of related works in Augsburg later the same year, now confidently and wrongly ascribed to Marcian of Heraclea.[7] In 1594, Thomson had promised to send a manuscript of just such an anonymous poem to Casaubon, noting that it derived from a manuscript in the library of Pierre Pithou.[8] The manuscript which Thomson sent survives today, bound among Casaubon's papers in Oxford, largely transcribed by Thomson, and bearing his notes about its provenance.[9] Thomson's manuscript was the route by which Scaliger's conjectural emendations reached the *editio princeps*. Casaubon's role is generously acknowledged in the edition of 1600, but Thomson's is not.

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5 'Scripsi etiam ad Marcum Velserum Augustanum et illi hodie veterem ἀνώνυμον περιηγήτην misi, quem e bibliotheca Scaligeri nacti eramus beneficio Richardi Thomsonis .... Opus non est perfectum. Ita autem incipit: Πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον ἡ κωμῳδία, / Θειότατε βασιλεῦ Νικομήδης, τοῦτ' ἔχει ...' (22 January 1600 n.s., Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 1, pp. 222–223). Most of this passage is also printed in J.C. Wolf, ed. *Casauboniana*, Hamburg, 1710, p. 2. Casaubon's letter to Welser has not survived.

6 Welser to Casaubon, 19 February 1600: 'Redeunt ad te amores tui, Periegesis, cuius apographum Hoeschelii opera apud nos manet. Ego tibi gratias habeo' (London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 299^{r}).

7 *Geographica Marciani Heracleotae, Scylacis Caryandensis, Artemidori Ephesii. nunc primum praeter Dicaearchi illa a D. Hoeschelio Aug. ex manuscript. codd. edita*, Augsburg, ad insigne pinus, 1600. It was reprinted in Paris in 1606 while Casaubon was there: *Marciani Heracleotae carmen iamb. de situ orbis. Fed. Morellus profess. et interpres reg. Graeca recensuit, et Latine eodem genere versuum expressit*, Paris, apud Federicum Morellum, architypographum regium, 1606. The poem now usually goes under the name of Pseudo-Scymnus.

8 See Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594 (pp. 178–184).

9 'Incerti auctoris sunt. Nam Scaliger descripsit ex longe vetustissimo codice manuscripto Pythoei literis plane fugientibus et scriptura incerta propter suam vetustatem' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon 11, fol. 126^{r}). For the manuscript, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', no. 3.

CHAPTER 16

England, from December 1599

After more than a decade of constant travel, Thomson returned to England later in 1599. He may have taken advantage of his stay in Germany to visit the Frankfurt bookfair in the autumn. If he did so, it was his last visit: once he reached England, he remained there for the rest of his life.[1] He took up a fellowship at Clare Hall, and was immediately enlisted in a struggle between the fellows of the College and factions at court.

Thomas Byng had been master of Clare since 1571. In December 1599, he died,[2] and the fellows of the College immediately elected William Bois to the mastership, which they believed to be their prerogative according to the statutes of the College. The mastership, however, was a desirable prize, and over the following months the election was disputed by a number of interested parties at the very highest levels.[3] The fellows mobilised in defence of their candidate. Thomson subscribed with them to a plea addressed in English to the Secretary of State Robert Cecil on 25 December.[4] Copies of the College statutes pertaining to the election of the master were transcribed, and subscribed by the fellows and by several masters of other Cambridge colleges in an attempt to assert their right to choose Bois. Three such documents are extant with Thomson's name subscribed from the early months of 1600: two are signed by Thomson, Edward Manistie, George Ruggle and John Allertone;[5] the third is signed by these four men and by two more, Jehochanan Maude and the would-

1 A lost letter of 1603 from Thomson to Scaliger fostered the belief that Thomson was about to set out for Spain. Scaliger to De Laet, 22 May 1604: 'Thomsoni nostro scribo, quem iamdudum in Hispania esse somniabam. Hoc enim mihi literae persuaserant, quas anno ad me dederat; tam calidas, ut vix putarem ante profectionem Hispaniensem meas accepturum. Quam frustra eum adornasse, sero tandem rescivi' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 318). No such journey is mentioned anywhere else and Scaliger must be mistaken.

2 The precise date of his death is uncertain, but he was buried on 23 December. For his biography, see P. Stein, 'Byng, Thomas (d. 1599)', ODNB, 2004, 9, p. 323.

3 For an account of the intrigues, see V. Morgan, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Volume 2: 1546–1750*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 376–378.

4 The letter is edited below: the Fellows of Clare Hall to Robert Cecil, 25 December 1599 (pp. 221–222).

5 Hatfield, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 136/77, and ibid., 136/202. For Ruggle, better known as a Latin playwright, see D.K. Money, 'Ruggle, George (bap. 1575, d. 1621/2)', ODNB, 2004, 48, pp. 101–103.

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be master William Bois.[6] The three brief English statements to which these men subscribed appear to have been written by Thomson, and they provide us with rare samples of his English hand. At the same time, these six fellows also addressed a Latin letter to Cecil asking him to support them in the matter. This letter to Cecil is also in Thomson's hand, and it is very likely that it was composed by him.[7] Newly come from conversation with continental scholars, Thomson was probably felt to be the best Latin stylist of the group. The carefully formulated appeal, however, did not succeed: Bois subsequently withdrew his candidacy and William Smith was installed as the master in March 1601. Smith would take his revenge on Thomson a decade later.[8]

Upon Thomson's return to England, Scaliger put him into contact with the French ambassador in London, Jean de Thuméry.[9] By February 1600, Thomson was able to tell Casaubon that De Thuméry could be used as an intermediary for their correspondence.[10] Scaliger evidently spoke well of Thomson in a letter to De Thuméry which has not survived. When Thomson learned of this recommendation through Denis Perrot, an acquaintance from Geneva now in England, he promised to visit the ambassador and wrote him a letter.[11] Thomson's letter to De Thuméry is lost, but something of its contents may be deduced from a letter which De Thuméry wrote to Scaliger in March. Thomson included with it a manuscript to be forwarded to Scaliger, and a promise to visit the ambassador in London.[12]

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6 Hatfield, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 136/71.

7 The Fellows of Clare Hall to Robert Cecil, 6 March [1600] (pp. 231–232).

8 See chapter 26, 'Final Years and Death', p. 124.

9 For this period, see P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV. Mission de Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise* (*1598–1602*), Paris, 1886.

10 Thomson to Casaubon, 28 February 1600 (pp. 227-229).

11 See Thomson to Perrot, 13 February [1600] (pp. 225–226).

12 De Thuméry to Scaliger, 25 March 1600: 'Je vous envoye ce manuscript que Monsieur Thomson a faict tenir icy, lequel j'ay veu, puisque vous me l'avez ainsy mandé et n'y ay rien trouvé que de vulgaire, aussy ma portée ne va pas plus loing. Mais vous le ferez valoir, et descouvrirez ce qui livroit les plus cler voyans. Il y a force lieux des anciens orateurs et poetes, qui est à mon advis le meilleur et dont il se tirera plus de proufit. Je l'ay mis en bonne main, et m'asseure qu'il vous sera rendu fidelement. Ledict Sieur Thomson m'a faict dire que venant icy il me visitera, ce que j'auray tres agreable, ne pouvant aprez vous que je ne l'estime beaucoup, et la provision qu'il faict de telles pieces monstre qu'il a le goust friand. J'entends qu'il quitte toutes lettres humaines pour suivre la scholastique, voyant qu'elle est de bon revenu icy …'. This letter was first connected with De Thuméry in 2012: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 403–405.

Thomson was as good as his word. The visit probably took place in April;[13] at the end of May, De Thuméry could write from London to Scaliger:

> Thomson has visited me, a reflection of his kindness and of yours. I am particularly grateful for yours, for he is as learned and courteous as you led me to believe. We talked about Italy, which has fewer learned men than it should have, and those it does have are forever carping at northern scholars who do more for the advancement of learning than they do.[14]

Thomson's conversation with the ambassador dwelt on the discontent with Italian scholarship which he had voiced to Scaliger in his lost letter from Florence.[15] Thomson also told the ambassador that he had a good manuscript of the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius which he was going to print. In the event, he published no such edition, and the manuscript has not been identified. There is a very good chance, however, that it was another of Thomson's purchases in Italy. De Thuméry forwarded a letter from Thomson to Scaliger together with some passages supposedly written in Poliziano's own hand.[16] This notice has caused several later students of Poliziano's work to sit up, but no manuscript answering to this description has come to light. It is likely that De Thuméry misunderstood Thomson, and that Thomson was in fact sending a copy of notes by Poliziano on Statius' *Silvae*, not notes in Poliziano's own hand.

De Thuméry's letter of March reported to Scaliger that Thomson had decided to turn from the 'lettres humaines' to 'la scholastique', or (to put it more crudely) from philology to theology. This is consistent with Thomson's claim to Perrot in March 1600 that his Latin style is suffering from his constant exposure to the medieval philosophers Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham,

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13 Thomson anticipates his visit to London in his letter to Perrot of 1 March [1600] (pp. 229–231), and it has yet to take place in De Thuméry to Scaliger, 25 March 1600 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 403–405).

14 De Thuméry to Scaliger, 27 May 1600: 'J'ay esté visité de Monsieur Thomson de sa grace et de la vostre, dont je vous remercie tant qu'il m'est possible; car certes il est docte et courtois comme vous me l'aviez mandé. Nous avons compté de l'Italie, qui n'a pas tant d'hommes de lettres qu'elle debvroit, et ce qui y est a tousjours la dent sur les Ultramontains, qui neantmoins advancent beaucoup plus les lettres qu'eulx' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 430).

15 See chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599', p. 62.

16 De Thuméry to Scaliger, 27 May 1600: 'Il m'a dict avoir un bon exemplaire de Gellius qu'il fera imprimer …. Vous aurez une lettre dudict Seigneur Thomson avec quelques fragments escrits de la main propre de Politian, un peu tard, pource que j'ay esté occupé' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 431).

although he also recalled reading Aquinas and Averroes in Italy.[17] It was around this date that Thomson conceived the Arminian theological tract which did so much to shape his posthumous reputation.[18] The reasons for Thomson's change of direction are unclear, although we should remember that in his youth he had published a short theological essay.[19] It is possible that he had been radicalised by his recent visit to Italy and the heart of Catholicism. However, in his letter to Perrot he claims that he is obliged to write theology because it is the only literature that is valued in England.[20]

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17 Thomson to Perrot, 1 March [1600] (pp. 229–231). For his reading in Italy, see Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600: 'Alia sunt quae propterea in Italia collegi, si quando a lectione Thomae Aquinatis vacabam, aut Averrois' (p. 238).

18 The work was not published until 1616: for its fortunes, see chapter 27, 'Thomson's Legacy: The *Diatriba*, 1616'.

19 For this work, see chapter 3, 'Germany, 1587'.

20 Thomson to Perrot, 1 March [1600]: 'Quid faciam? Vides tempora et hos homines, mi Perrote. Frustra simus in Anglia si aliter agamus. Nam quae praemia studiorum nisi theologiae proposita sunt? Itaque ne aliquando panis ostiatim rogandus sit, cogimur divertere ab hac amoenitate literarum, et tristius quid mussitare' (p. 230).

CHAPTER 17

Reading Casaubon on Athenaeus

Thomson's return to England did not disrupt his long friendship with Casaubon. We have seen the enthusiasm with which he started reading Casaubon's edition of the Greek text in Geneva in the spring of 1597. In 1601, about a year after his return from Italy, he acquired the second part of this massive work, the volume containing Casaubon's commentary on the text of Athenaeus. Thomson had been waiting for this edition ever since he arrived back in England, but publication was delayed by Casaubon's relocation from Montpellier to Paris. Casaubon's preface, addressed to his new royal patron Henri IV, is dated 16 July 1600, and one week later Thomson asked Casaubon to send him an inscribed copy.[1] Casaubon was very happy to oblige, and the volume was sent to Thomson from Paris in September, accompanied by an affectionate letter to Thomson which survives.[2] This book travelled to London where it remained for some weeks in the hands of Denis Perrot, and Thomson had still not received it in December.[3] When he finally got hold of it, Thomson found time to read Casaubon's enormous commentary on Athenaeus amid the distractions of university politics and religious controversy.

Thomson's personal copy of the work survives, inscribed to him as he had requested on the title page by its author.[4] He seems to have begun reading it in earnest in 1601, and his marginal notes allow us to look over his shoulder as he worked. He frequently underlines passages of interest, and supplies signposts to the contents of the text. His reading is close and attentive for the first eighty-five pages, that is, until somewhere near the end of Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus' second book. Thereafter his notes become much rarer, although his interest is fully engaged throughout the commentary on Athenaeus' sixth book.

Something of the nature of Thomson's interest in Casaubon's commentary may be deduced from these annotations. Sometimes Thomson adds references

1 He made this request in his letter to Casaubon of 22 July 1600 (pp. 235–239).

2 The copy was sent with Casaubon to Thomson, 20 September 1600 (pp. 245–248).

3 See Thomson to Perrot, 3 December 1600 (pp. 248–249).

4 'Richardo Thomsoni suo viro doctissimo d. d. Is. Casaubonus'. A reproduction of this title page is prefaced to J. Glucker, 'A Presentation Copy of Casaubon's Athenaeus in Exeter Cathedral Library', *Pegasus*, 6, 1966, pp. 13–19.

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to classical authors not mentioned by Casaubon.[5] Thomson, like Casaubon, knew Scaliger's works very well, and so he added marginal references to Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum*, and to his commentaries on the works of Manilius, Festus, Varro, and the *Appendix Vergiliana*.[6] At one point, Thomson quotes from a letter of Justus Lipsius to supplement Casaubon's discussion.[7] The quotation is long enough for us to be sure that he had an edition of Lipsius' letter to hand. Sometimes Thomson's comments engage directly with the commentary. While Casaubon was discussing the force of the Greek prefix διὰ-, Thomson recalled another rare Greek verb: 'And so what is "διαπαρθενεύεσθαι", "to deflower"?'[8] His marginal observation on the manners of Venetian women, a vivid memory from his stay in Venice, has already been mentioned.[9]

Thomson's Athenaeus also gives us a rare comment on the text of the Old Testament. Casaubon is discussing the Vulgate translation of Job 19.24, and states his preference for the reading 'celte' over 'certe'. Thomson supplies an alternative reading 'caelte' in the margin.[10] The reading itself is of less interest than the place he drew it from: the work of the Spanish Jesuit Luis de Molina, best known for his work on the freedom of the will first published in 1588.

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5 To Olympiodorus (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, p. 52, in Exeter Cathedral Library); to Silius Italicus (ibid., p. 57); to Juvenal (ibid., p. 262); to Isidore of Pelusium (ibid., p. 274); to Martial (ibid., p. 296).

6 To Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* (ibid., pp. 3, 264, 280, 281, 574); to his Manilius (ibid., *Ad lectorem*, sig. ¶5r; pp. 379, 513); to his Festus (ibid., p. 12); to his Varro (ibid., pp. 263, 379); to his *Appendix Vergiliana* (ibid., 'Catalecta', p. 291).

7 'Lipsius putat "thecas lectulorum instar fuisse quibus supponerent in testis carbones ad modice et paullatim calfaciendum qui incubaret. Sane de mensis sermo est, ideoque ad solia balnearum non retulero". Cent. 3 ad Belg. epist. 75.' See Lipsius, *Epistolarum selectarum centuria tertia ad Belgas*, Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1602, ep. 75, p. 94.

8 'Quid ergo est διαπαρθενεύεσθαι, "devirginare"?' (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, p. 19, in Exeter Cathedral Library).

9 See chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599', p. 51.

10 'Vid. Molinam, qui "caelte" omnino legendum putat' (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, p. 349, in Exeter Cathedral Library). The reference is to *Commentaria in primam divi Thomae partem*, 2 vols, Cuenca, ex officina Christiani Barnabae typographi, 1592, 2, cols 1063–1068. Thomson is more likely to have consulted this work in an edition printed the following year: Molina, *Commentaria in primam divi Thomae partem*, 2 vols, Lyon, sumptibus Ioannis Baptistae Buysson, 1593, 2, pp. 389–391. For Molina (1535–1600) and his work, see A.C. Pegis, 'Molina and Human Liberty', in *Jesuit Thinkers of the Renaissance*, ed. G. Smith, Milwaukee, 1939, pp. 75–131.

Sometimes Thomson supplies English glosses. Thus he offers an English translation of an obscure passage on food preparation: 'The English rightly call this "soussing".'[11] Or when Casaubon discusses the Greek phrase for a hangover, πλήττειν τὴν κεφαλήν, Thomson writes in the margin a literal translation, 'to stryke in to the head'.[12] These marginal notes are among the few words we have in English from Thomson's pen, and they show that he was attentive to the niceties of the language. He is also alert to those things concealed by Casaubon's delicacy: thus when Casaubon criticises Julius Caesar Scaliger's interpretation of Homer without naming him, Thomson is able to supply the name in the margin;[13] and when Casaubon discusses the escape of an unnamed scholar from the authorities at Toulouse, Thomson notes that this disreputable incident concerned the late Marc-Antoine Muret.[14]

Of particular interest is a list which Thomson compiled on the fly-leaf: it records ten works which Casaubon mentions that he is preparing for publication.[15] In the age before learned journals, it was not uncommon for scholars to announce work in progress in this way, but Casaubon was more prone to dropping hints of this sort in passing than many of his contemporaries. Thomson was not the only reader sensitive to these promises. Casaubon's son Meric compiled a similar list of his father's unpublished works in 1621 from just such hints.[16] Some of the works in Thomson's list were later published: Casaubon's immense commentary on the slender remains of Persius was published in 1605;[17] and a fragment of Casaubon's unfinished commentary on Polybius was

11 'Angli soussing recte appellant' (ibid., p. 8, in Exeter Cathedral Library).

12 Ibid., p. 38, in Exeter Cathedral Library.

13 Casaubon calls him an 'incomparabilis vir' (ibid., p. 26, in Exeter Cathedral Library).

14 Ibid., p. 442, in Exeter Cathedral Library.

15 Thomson's note reads: 'Casaubonus scripturum et editurum se promittit. / Criticum Praefatio ad lectorem. Et alibi saepe. / Senatusconsultum Atheniensium in Eubuli honorem. p. 271 / De nominibus sanctorum in seclis hymnis ecclesiasticis. 277. / De usu stapedum. p. 283. / Commentar. in Persium. 285. / Prolegomena in Athenaeum. Praefatio. / De Proverbiis. p. 6. / Commentar. de coloribus 37. / Commentar. de lectis veterum. 60. / Comment. ad Polybium. 381'. The numbers refer to the pages of Casaubon's *Animadversiones*. The note is transcribed in J. Glucker, 'A Presentation Copy of Casaubon's Athenaeus in Exeter Cathedral Library', *Pegasus*, 6, 1966, p. 13, where for 'Arginiensium' (line 3), read 'Atheniensium'; for 'notibus' (line 4), read 'nominibus'. The words 'et alibi saepe' (line 2) were added by Thomson at a later date.

16 Meric Casaubon, *Pietas contra maledicos patrii nominis, et religionis hostes*, London, ex Officina Bibliopolarum, 1621, pp. 160–164.

17 *Auli Persii Flacci satirarum liber. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, et commentario libro illus-*

published in 1617, after its author's death.[18] Some works were pieces of antiquarian scholarship on material objects, such as a treatise on the beds of the ancients,[19] or a work on the stirrup.[20] Others were textually focussed: a work on a long Greek inscription in honour of Eubulus,[21] and another on ancient proverbs fall into this category.[22] One of these works dealt with ecclesiastical history, a subject to which Casaubon would devote the last years of his life.[23] There was also the promise of a commentary *De coloribus*, which caught Thomson's eye.[24]

On the basis of this list, Thomson wrote a letter to Casaubon in 1601, urging him to publish all of these works.[25] Casaubon's reply indicated that at least some of these works were in an advanced state.[26] This included the commentary *De coloribus*, an element in a larger work *De re vestiaria*, which he intended to publish separately.[27] Thomson's attentive reading of the commentary on

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travit. Ad virum amplissimum D. Achillem Harlaeum Senatus Principem, Paris, apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart, 1605.

18 *Isaaci Casauboni ad Polybii Historiarum librum primum commentarii. Ad Iacobum I Magnae Britanniae Regem Serenissimum*, Paris, Stephanus, 1617.

19 Regarding this treatise, Casaubon states: 'Haec et alia multa huius argumenti in hoc auctore pluribus explicamus in accuratissimo commentario *De lectis veterum*, si modo ita a Deo videatur ut illum aliquando perpolitum edere possimus' (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, p. 60).

20 Thomson may have been over-zealous here: Casaubon's passing comment, 'ut alibi docemus', need not imply an unpublished treatise on the matter (ibid., p. 283).

21 Casaubon had acquired a copy of this inscription from Marcus Welser in Augsburg: 'Allusio est ad usitata verba in Senatusconsultis, … ut in Senatusconsulto de honore et praemio Eubuli facto, quod nacti beneficio clarissimi praestantissimique M. Velseri Augustani, alibi sumus luce donaturi et illustraturi faciente Deo' (ibid., p. 271). For the inscription itself, see C. Biagi, *Tractatus de decretis Atheniensium*, Rome, 1785, pp. 430–433.

22 'Is est enim de quo extat proverbium πρὸ Εὐκλείδου, vel ὑπὲρ Εὐκλείδην, quod nos multis exponimus et illustramus in nostro de proverbiis libro' (ibid., p. 6). Casaubon's work on proverbs was never published, but elements of the work survive in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. no. 17 (3963).

23 'Vetus quoque Ecclesia Christiana hunc, ut videtur, morem ad pium usum traduxit: instituto ut nomina martyrum, imperatorum, pontificum summorum et aliorum fide ac meritis excellentium virorum, sacris diptychis inserta, inter hymnodias recitarentur; qua de re dicemus multa alibi, si vitam Deus produxerit, scitu digna, nec protrita' (ibid., p. 277).

24 'In Theophrasti libello de coloribus ἔμπυρρον et λευκόπυρρον eiusdem coloris appellationes esse invenias, ut scripsimus in nostro de coloribus commentario' (ibid., p. 37).

25 Thomson's letter has not come to light.

26 Casaubon to Thomson, 4 February 1602 (pp. 270–274).

27 Casaubon's *De re vestiaria* was never published, but a substantial collection of notes for the

Athenaeus tended to supplement Casaubon's references, and highlight and encourage Casaubon's unfinished work. Thomson's marginalia are entirely consistent with a conception of his role as assistant to, and instigator of, the works of greater scholars.

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work survive in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. no. 8 (3954). A smaller collection of notes is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. no. 29 (3966i), item 5d.

CHAPTER 18

Richard Mountague

It is clear that despite his new theological occupations, on his return to England Thomson did not neglect the literary studies which had occupied him for the previous decade. He spent a portion of his time in England studying and sifting the notes and manuscripts he had brought back from Italy, and he had acquired a network of contacts with continental scholars which made him valuable to his colleagues. It must have been Thomson who encouraged Richard Mountague, at this date a young fellow of King's College Cambridge, to write to Vulcanius in December 1599.[1] Thomson had certainly put Mountague in touch with Scaliger by 1600.[2] The fragmentary surviving evidence indicates that Mountague, perhaps too eager to impress the famous French scholar, immediately entangled himself in a muddle over a manuscript.

Mountague had read the printed catalogue of the manuscripts in English libraries, published early in 1600 by Thomas James, the first Keeper of the Bodleian Library.[3] James' catalogue has a tantalising notice of a manuscript at Cambridge containing a work entitled *De natura, de Deo, angelis, et hominibus*.[4] The more detailed entry in the second part of James' catalogue gives a slightly fuller description: 'Liber Tertulliani (ut habet nota marginalis) de Deo, angelis et hominibus'.[5] This title corresponds to no known work of Tertullian, no known lost work, and no known spurious work. Mountague saw that an exciting discovery might lie behind James' bald notice: at a time when fierce theological polemics were a well-established genre, a new work by one of the earliest Christian writers might prove a powerful weapon in the confessional struggle. However, a more experienced scholar would have known how misleading catalogue entries can be, and a wiser man would certainly have gone to look at the manuscript in Cambridge before announcing it to Scaliger. Scaliger was a man who pursued such things with great tenacity.

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1 Mountague's autograph letter to Vulcanius, dated 7 December 1599, is Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: 1.

2 For Mountague's biography, see J.S. Macauley, 'Mountague, Richard (bap. 1575, d. 1621/2)', ODNB, 2004, 39, pp. 531–536.

3 James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600.

4 *'De natura, de Deo, angelis, et hominibus*. Exemp. 1. *Cant*. in Bib. pub. vol. 145' (ibid., p. 55).

5 'Liber Tertulliani (ut habet nota marginalis) de Deo, angelis et hominibus. Pr. *Archiformis theologia*' (ibid., p. 61).

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Mountague must have told Scaliger of the Cambridge manuscript in the spring of 1600 in a letter now lost. In response, Scaliger wrote at once to Mountague, Thomson and De Thuméry about it.[6] In May, De Thuméry wrote to Scaliger from London to explain that he had forgotten to ask Thomson about the manuscript at their recent meeting.[7] Thomson, who had pored over enough library catalogues to be sceptical about their claims, neglected to inform Scaliger about progress in the hunt. The behaviour of both men suggests that neither felt that a lost work by a Church Father was about to resurface in Cambridge. Scaliger, characteristically, wanted to be more certain, and in July he wrote to Thomson at Cambridge repeating his enquiry about the manuscript.[8]

Meanwhile, Mountague found himself unable to prove or disprove his rash claim for some months because the librarian was away from Cambridge for the summer.[9] In 1600, it seems, Cambridge scholars were not expected to make much use of the collections during the summer. When the librarian eventually returned to his post, the manuscript was duly consulted. Mountague was embarrassed to discover—and to have to report to Scaliger—that it was not a work of Tertullian at all.[10] It was, in fact, a medieval florilegium, which contained some extracts from Tertullian's *Apologeticum*. The manuscript still survives in Cambridge and someone has written a laconic note on it: 'This work is thought to be Tertullian's'.[11]

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6 These three letters are lost: their existence is inferred from those which survive.

7 De Thuméry to Scaliger, 27 May 1600: 'Je me suis oublié de luy demander de cest opuscule de Tertullien, mais il doibt retourner bientost' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 430–431).

8 Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600: 'In postremis meis petebam a te ut ex Richardo a Monteacuto sciscitareris nunquid verum sit quod de opusculo Tertulliani nuper reperto ad me scribebat. Movit mihi salivam epistola sua, et hactenus λάρος χάσκων' (p. 234).

9 Mountague to Scaliger, 13 November [1600]: 'Sed cum propter anniversarias ferias aestivas (quae apud nos plurium sunt hebdomadum quam fortasse apud vos) bibliothecae custos, ut studiosi plerique solent, abesset, non potui promissum exolvere, nec iam possum' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 515–516).

10 Mountague to Scaliger, 13 November [1600]: 'Simul enim ac rediit, adeo hominem, librum consulo: praeter nomen nihil invenio. Tertulliani sunt et novi aevi, et posterior illo patre aliquot saeculis, utpote qui Graegorium [*sic*] magnum citet; quod et vidit Richardus Thomson. Credulitatem meam, sed et aliorum hic damno, qui fidem tam facile tenebroso huic scripto adhibuerim' (ibid.).

11 The manuscript, still unpublished, is now Cambridge, University Library, Ii.IV.19. The note is on fol. 82^{r}: 'Opus hoc creditur esse Tertulliani'. See P. Petitmengin, 'L'Édition de Tertullien, De Nicolas Rigault à Migne', in *Tempus Edax Rerum: Le bicentenaire de la*

Thomson appears to have made a similar mistake himself just a few years later. The medieval canon lawyer Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, had compiled a brief chronicle of French history which had been published in a fragmentary state.[12] Some time before 1606, Thomson believed that he had located a fuller text in an English manuscript, and made arrangements to have it transcribed. He wrote of this discovery to his old friend Jan Gruter in Heidelberg, and Gruter subsequently showed Thomson's letter to the historian Marquard Freher. On the basis of this letter, now lost, Freher advised Melchior Goldast, then in Frankfurt, not to print the imperfect text currently available to him.[13] Thomson, however, must have been mistaken, apparently misled by a catalogue entry, and the chronicle of Ivo was never supplemented. When a new edition of the *opusculum* was eventually printed in 1610, it published the same text which had been printed in 1585.[14] And when Freher published it again among his own collection of texts on French history, there was no mention of this English supplement.[15] That both Mountague and Thomson could make such mistakes

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Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg (*1798–1998*), Luxembourg, 2001, pp. 27–39, p. 32; id. 'Tertullien entre la fin du XIIe et le début du XVIe siècle', in M. Cortesi, ed. *Padri Greci e Latini a confronto: Atti del Convegno di studi della Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino*, Florence, 2004, pp. 63–88.

12 Most recently: *Ivonis episcopi Carnotensis epistolae. Eiusdem Chronicon de regibus Francorum*, Paris, apud Sebastianum Nivellium, 1585.

13 Freher to Goldast, 19 August 1606: 'Consilium de edendo fragmento Ivonis (nam qua de Francis incipit, amputatus est mala manus) necessario mutandum est. Quia ex Anglia (ubi integrum exstare index bibliothecae, quem aliquando hic vidisti, indicio est) Thomsonus rescribit—Gruterus litteras exhibuit—iam supplementum illud exscribi, se curante. Ideoque exspectandum erit. Cui enim bono liber mutilus vix et dimidiatus, desinens in eo ipso quod quaeritur, et quod 'Francicorum' inscriptio promittit? Itaque eius loco Idacii *Miscellam*, non paulo meliorem collationem, tomo tuo principe loco supponas consulo' (*Virorum cll. et doctorum ad Melchiorem Goldastum ICtum et polyhistorem celebratissimum epistolae*, Frankfurt and Speyer, sumptibus Christophori Olssen, 1688, p. 151). See also an undated letter of Freher to Goldast: 'promissa mitto, Ivonis Chron. cuius archetypum cum scripto collatum recipere cupio. Eum Francicis tuis praefigi, cum testatione aliqua amicitiae nostrae patior. Atque utinam integrari aliquando possit, magna et optima sui parte mutilus! Quo nomine et in Galliam et Angliam scripsi' (ibid., p. 154). For Goldast, see ADB, 1879, 9, pp. 327–330; NDB, 1964, 6, pp. 601–602; A.A. Baade, *Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld: Collector, Commentator and Editor*, New York, 1992. For Freher, see ADB, 1877, 7, pp. 334–335; NDB, 1960, 5, pp. 392–393.

14 *Ivonis episcopi Carnotensis epistolae … Eiusdem Ivonis Chronicon de regibus Francorum. Editio secunda*, Paris, ex officina Nivelliana, 1610.

15 Freher, ed. *Corpus Francicae historiae veteris et sincerae*, Hannover, typis Wechelianis apud haeredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1613.

shows how exciting and how misleading the new catalogues could be. That both men were willing to announce new discoveries before verifying them says something about the nature of English scholarship at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER 19

Visitors to Cambridge

If Thomson facilitated contact between England and the continent, at Cambridge he was also a regular port of call for foreign visitors, particularly Dutch ones. Thus when in the autumn of 1600, Franciscus Dousa suddenly announced his intention to travel to England, Scaliger told him to pay a visit to Thomson and entrusted him with a number of letters.[1] Just a few weeks earlier, in August, Thomson made an entry in the *Album amicorum* of another visiting Dutch scholar, Daniel Burchgrave. Burchgrave had matriculated as an undergraduate in letters at Leiden in February 1594, while Thomson was there;[2] he matriculated there again a few months after his visit to Cambridge, this time in theology;[3] and he matriculated there for the third and final time in 1623, not long before his death.[4] Daniel's father Pieter de Burchgrave died in London in 1600, and Daniel, the eldest son, may have come to England on his death to stake his claim to his patrimony. Thomson's entry in Daniel's *Album* took a standard form—he used a very similar formula in another such entry a few years later—but it does give us what might be his motto, a Greek sentiment attributed to the dramatist Aeschylus: 'The wise man is not he who knows many things, but he who knows the best things'.[5] The last words which Thomson wrote in Burchgrave's book are rather cryptic: 'Caelum non animum'. In fact, they are the first words of a line of Martial: 'Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare cur-

1 Scaliger to F. Dousa, 13 October 1600: 'Do tibi praeterea literas ad Richardum Thomsonem, quem Cantabrigiae reperies. Eius usus et amicitia tibi gratissima erunt propter summam viri eruditionem, et morum suavitatem' (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, French Prose Writers, box 12/18). This letter is not in Botley and Van Miert, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, and I am grateful to Nick Hardy for bringing it to my notice. The letters which Scaliger entrusted to Dousa have not come to light.

2 'Daniel Burchgraeff L.' (*Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, col. 39).

3 'Daniel de Burchgrave Hyperius. 22, T.' matriculated at Leiden on 14 February 1601 (ibid., col. 60). Burchgrave (1579–1624) married Anna Oosterling in Leiden on 10 January 1603.

4 'Daniel de Burchgrave Hyperius. 45' matriculated at Leiden on 18 March 1623 (ibid., col. 166).

5 The inscription is: 'Martial. / Semper bonus homo tiro est. [*Epigrams*, XII.51.2] / Ὁ χρήσιμ' εἰδὼς οὐχ ὁ πόλλ' εἰδὼς σοφός. / DANIELI BURGRAVIO / Iuveni / Eruditissimo / Humanissimo / Amicissimoque / AMORIS ET BENEVOLENT. / ERGO / Richardus Thomson. P. / Cantebrigiae Anglorum. CIↃ IↃ C. / A.D. Proprid. Eid. Aug. Caelum non animum' (*Album Amicorum D. Burgravii*, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 71 J 58, fol. 142ʳ). The Greek is ascribed to Aeschylus (Fragment 218 (390), preserved in Stobaeus, *Anthology*, III.3.11).

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runt'; 'Those who cross the sea change their location, not their mind'.[6] In this brief message to a young Dutch scholar, Thomson combines, however conventionally, a comment on the nature of scholarship with an allusion to his own recent travels.

The following year, Thomson received two more foreign visitors at Cambridge. These were the brothers Pierre and Charles Labbé, originally from Bordeaux, and on their return to France they sent Scaliger a circumstantial account of their time in England.[7] This account is worth translating here at length partly because it supplies further information on Thomson and his books, but also because it shows how studious young men of the period went about such visits. It is a valuable document because it gives some sense of the texture of the scholarly life of the day. Pierre Labbé writes from Paris in September 1601:

> Since you will have learned from our earlier letter that we had set out for Cambridge and Oxford, I believe it is my duty to recount in the present letter what we saw in each place. … Arriving, therefore, in Cambridge, we met up with Thomson, your good friend. While walking with us, he was struck by a sudden fever which gripped him for fifteen days, a great loss to us. Consequently we were a little delayed in consulting the libraries, which we saw were not as well stocked as we had expected. The author of the catalogue has wrongly ascribed many manuscripts.[8] For example, the 'Viaticum of Constantine', which we located with great difficulty, we saw was entitled 'the breviary of Constantine, otherwise known as the *Viaticus* because he carried this book with him always'.[9] Everything in it was worthless monkishness. In Trinity College, we saw a Greek manuscript of Philo Judaeus.[10] Richard Mountague, a fellow of King's College, has

6 Martial I.11.27.

7 Charles and Pierre Labbé were in Leiden on 14 May 1601, when they signed the *Album Amicorum* of Petrus Scriverius (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133 M 5, fols 174^{r} and 176^{r}). Scaliger entrusted to them letters addressed to his correspondents in Paris, although the brothers were about to set out for England: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 641–644. They probably reached Cambridge at the beginning of June: see Thomson to Perrot, 16 June [1601] (p. 255). For their biographies, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 8, p. 100, *s. v.* 'Labbaeus'.

8 The author of this catalogue was Thomas James: James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600. Mountague had already been misled by one of his entries: see chapter 17.

9 Labbé had been hoping to find the *Viaticum* of Constantine the African (eleventh century), a Latin translation of an Arabic medical text.

10 This manuscript is probably Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. 202. For its contents, see

undertaken a collation, which I hope we shall receive from him as he promised.[11] In addition, we were allowed to see at our leisure Thomson's collection, which is fuller than the others. Besides very many books in which he has recorded variant readings from Italian manuscripts, he keeps a fine volume of Proclus, as yet unpublished, and many other less important manuscripts.[12]

Having seen the colleges and assemblies of Cambridge, we hurried on to those of Oxford. We saw their colleges, which are (truth be told) grander, and their libraries, which are fuller. In fact, they are packed with a great number of manuscripts, both Latin and Greek; but these they store and hide away so strictly, indeed disgracefully, all covered with dust, that they would rather they perished than be brought back into public use. For whereas at Cambridge they allowed us to borrow the manuscripts freely, at Oxford they absolutely would not. Since this seemed to us uncivilised and in some sense discourteous, we broke off our collation of a parchment manuscript of Julius Pollux, which we had spent a whole day collating in the library of St John's College.[13] We saw two unpublished books of Doxapater on Hermogenes' *On invention* in Magdalen College, which a fellow of the college promised to transcribe and send on to us so that we might have it printed.[14] Whether he has done so, we shall, I hope, see within a few months.

After these events, we returned to London, where we remained for a week to see the Queen and for other business. Having paid our respects to ambassador De Thuméry (to whom we are indebted), we gave thought to our return to France. With God's grace, we reached Paris last month,

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M.R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols, Cambridge, 1900–1904, 1, pp. 264–267.

11 A full collation of Trinity College, ms. 202 would have been a substantial undertaking, and it is not known whether Mountague ever made one.

12 For Thomson's manuscripts of Proclus, now in the British Library, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', nos 4 and 5.

13 The manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford, are not detailed in James' catalogue, and the manuscript which the Labbé brothers were collating has not been identified.

14 In James' catalogue, the Doxapater manuscript is item no. 127 in the library of the College: 'Io. Doxapater in Hermogenem de Inventione, Graece 2 vol.' (part 2, p. 36). This is the same library in which Thomson seems to have found a Greek manuscript of Athenaeus Mechanicus in the 1590s. The manuscript of Doxapater is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocc. 175. For whatever reason, the work of Doxapater was not printed, and the helpful fellow of Magdalen College has not been identified.

> where we met De Thou, Casaubon, Rigault and your other good friends, and we gave them your letters ….[15]

The letter is full of interest. Particularly striking is the sense of affronted dignity at being denied permission to borrow manuscripts in Oxford. Here, their criticisms of Oxford's librarians recall early renaissance accounts of ignorant monastic librarians, unworthy custodians of great treasures. This visit seems to have made an impression on all concerned. Scaliger replied in November that Thomson's illness had deprived the brothers of a valuable resource.[16] Thomson subsequently wrote a letter to Casaubon, now lost, which certainly mentioned Charles Labbé,[17] and Charles was still recalling the visit in letters to Casaubon of 1602.[18]

Among the collations noticed by the Labbé brothers were collations of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* which Thomson had made while he was in Italy.[19] On his return to England, he informed Casaubon of these notes because he knew of the older man's interest in the *Letters*. This interest went back to at least 1591, when Casaubon had announced his intention to lecture on them at Geneva.[20]

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15 Pierre Labbé to Scaliger, 12 September 1601. For the Latin text of this letter, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 68–71. By 25 October 1601, the brothers were back in Bordeaux: see London, British Library, Burney 365, fol. 13^{r}.

16 Scaliger to Charles and Pierre Labbé, 6 November 1601: 'utinam diutius vobis congressu Thomsonis frui per eius valetudinem licuisset! Tantum enim temporis vobis rei benegerendae periisse puto, quantum ille cum morbo luctatus est' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, p. 99).

17 As appears from a letter of 13 February 1602 from Charles Labbé in Bordeaux to Casaubon (London, British Library, Burney 365, fol. 14^{r}).

18 Charles Labbé in Bordeaux to Casaubon, 6 July 1602: Casaubon has 'multa et docta et rara, cum ea nos te ostendente viderimus, de iis antea moniti ab amicissimo Thomsone …' (London, British Library, Burney 365, fol. 17$^{r–v}$). Charles Labbé to Casaubon, 20 October 1602: 'Ultimis meis ad te literis subsidium tuum in opere perficiendo petieram; iam ad illum exhibendum etiam atque etiam te invito et invoco. Quam autem fidissimum sit et monuit olim amicissimus Thomson, qui saepissime nobis dixit, nullum maius subsidium lubentiori animo laturum, et ipsi novimus qui illud penes te vidimus …' (London, British Library, Burney 365, fol. 20^{r}). In the same letter, Charles mentions another prize from his time in Cambridge: 'Habeo penes me orationem εἰς τὰ βαϊὰ eiusdem [i.e. Chrysostomi] descriptam ex codice manuscripto Cantabrigiae. Quam cum audivero te expetere, mittam lubentissime' (ibid.).

19 See Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600 (pp. 235–239).

20 See Casaubon to Franciscus Junius, 3 January 1591: 'nuper auctore magno Beza et reliquis collegis, institui illas *Epistolas* in schola nostra interpretari' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 968, pp. 566–567).

By 1593, while Thomson himself was in Geneva, Casaubon was preparing a commentary for publication,[21] and in 1594 it was still in hand.[22] Casaubon subsequently abandoned the work, although he may have been briefly inspired to take it up again in 1598 by a new manuscript.[23] After Casaubon's death, his son Meric noted that there was an unpublished commentary on Cicero's letters to Atticus among his father's papers.[24] The complete commentary is lost, although a number of Casaubon's observations on the first seventeen letters to Atticus were published in 1684.[25]

Early in 1602, Thomson asked about another manuscript of Cicero's letters which was at this date with the Labbé brothers in Bordeaux. The manuscript in question seems to have belonged to Thomson, and the brothers had presumably inspected the book themselves while they were in Cambridge. News of this manuscript inclined Casaubon to think briefly and vaguely about his old project on the letters.[26] The brothers promised to send it, and did so

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21 It is anticipated in Gruter to Casaubon, 25 July 1593 (London, British Library, Burney 364, fol. 199ʳ).

22 See Casaubon to Hieronymus Commelinus, 24 August 1594: 'In *Epistolas ad Atticum* ne quid adhuc ederem, haec causa fuit, quam tibi saepe afferre memini quoties de ea re sermo inter nos esset: non enim poteram mea parare ullo modo, quin prius τὰ clarissimi Iunii vidissem. Hoc apud me semper fixum fuit. Nunc postquam vidi, iubeo te esse, siquid nostra curas, securum, et brevi tempore, quae habeo, expectare' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 986, p. 576).

23 Casaubon to Scaliger, 27 December 1598: 'Accidit autem mihi ut recreandi animi caussa … Ciceronis *Ad Atticum epistolas* in manus sumerem. Spes mihi facta codicis cuiusdam non pessimi, quae spes si non decollaverit, audebimus et nos nostras divinationes publicare' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 230–231).

24 Meric Casaubon, *Pietas contra maledicos patrii nominis, et religionis hostes*, London, ex Officina Bibliopolarum, 1621, p. 161.

25 In an edition of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* by J.G. Graevius (Amsterdam, 1684). See Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 432 (no. 22) and pp. 481–482.

26 Casaubon to the Labbé brothers, 19 January 1602: 'Mitto vobis … quas ex Anglia superioribus diebus accepi. Erat et in fasciculo eodem doctissimi Thomsonis epistola, ubi adscripta salus utrique vestrum sane quam peramanter. Ille me iudicium meum poscit super codice *Epistolarum ad Atticum* qui adhuc penes vos. Respondi non dubium esse mihi quin primo quoque die eum missuri essetis; simul accepero, beneficio hoc illius usurum, et adfatim mox scripturum. Anni sunt, opinor, sex septem cum in eo Ciceronis opere, ut mea sententia est, praestantissimo, multi fuimus. Latent enim in liturariis nostris observatiunculae quas raptim tunc temporis exaravimus. Quas fieri aliquando publici iuris studiosorum, nonnihil fortasse intersit, utique si opis aliquid nobis Thomsonianus hic codex attulerit. Eum igitur etiam commendo vobis, ut ne quid depereat, et ex commodo vestro eum mihi transmittatis' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 266, pp. 137–138).

immediately.[27] Casaubon had received it in Paris by March, but found it disappointing.[28] It was doubtless returned to England via the next reliable courier, although it has not been identified. After a few weeks in Casaubon's study, the book is likely to have revealed everything of value it contained.

Thomson subsequently made little more of his own work on Cicero's letters than Casaubon had done. We do, however, hear of a later service to scholarship which is likely to have been connected with this manuscript: in the autumn of 1606 Johannes Woverius wrote to Jan Gruter that Thomson had sent something on the *Letters to Atticus* to one Frobenius.[29] The recipient must be Georg Ludwig Froben, who had moved to Hamburg in 1599, and who printed an edition of the complete works of Cicero there some years after Thomson's death, in 1618–1619.[30] Whatever Thomson sent to Froben, it shows that he maintained his ties with northern Germany after he had settled in England. However, Froben's later edition of Cicero, distinguished by its formidable collection of ten indices, does not mention any contribution from Thomson.

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27 Pierre Labbé wrote from Bordeaux to Casaubon in Paris on 13 February 1602: 'Miror a domino Thomsone nullas ad nos pervenisse, cui … salutem amicissimam renunciabis. Codicem *Epistolarum ad Atticum* cum per otium citius remittere vix licuerit, … attamen per proxime sequentem tabellarium te accepturum fide mea iubere ausim' (London, British Library, Burney 365, fol. 12^{r}). Charles Labbé wrote a letter to Casaubon the same day to the same effect (ibid., fol. 14^{r}).

28 Casaubon to Charles and Pierre Labbé, 20 March 1602: 'De *Epistolis ad Atticum* habeo gratias; quanquam simul in eum librum oculos conieci, nescio quomodo spes quam conceperam de illo codice coepit minuere …. Quicquid autem sit, eruditissimo Thomsoni certum est gratias agere' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 273, p. 141). Charles replied on 18 March 1602: 'Redditae nobis fuerunt … hodierno die literae tuae, quibus significas te *Epistolas ad Atticum* accepisse. Utinam maiora et meliora quam prae se ferunt in se habeant! Antiqua enim illa editio; idcirco multa sunt in margine adscripta …' (London, British Library, Burney 365, fol. 15^{r}).

29 Woverius (Hamburg) to Gruter (Heidelberg), 19 October 1606: 'Thampsonis [*sic*] in Ciceronem *Ad Atticum* ad Frobenium transmissa audio, necdum tamen ea inspicienda copia facta est' (J. Woverius, *Epistolarum centuriae II. Eiusdem syntagma de Bibliorum interpretatione cum epistolis clarorum virorum ad Wowerum. Omnia nunc primum prodeunt*, Hamburg, apud Michaelem Heringium, [1618], p. 154).

30 For Georg Ludwig Froben (1566–1645), see F.L. Hoffmann, *Der gelehrte Buchhändler Georg Ludwig Frobenius in Hamburg*, Hamburg, 1867; ADB, 1878, 8, pp. 126–127.

CHAPTER 20

The Lexicon of Photius

When in 1602 the interests of Charles Labbé turned to Greek lexicography, he remembered Thomson's copy of the lexicon of Photius which he had seen in Cambridge the previous year. Thomson's acquisition of this lexicon in Italy has already been considered,[1] but because its fortunes provide a lively illustration of how such objects circulated among scholars in the early seventeenth century, they will be examined in some detail here.

In the early months of 1600, not long after Thomson's return to England, he sent his manuscript of Photius' lexicon to Scaliger in Leiden.[2] Scaliger returned the manuscript in July 1600, and encouraged Thomson to publish it. Scaliger, however, saw in the project more pedagogic utility than real scholarly value. He compared the lexicon to the Greek dictionary of Guarino of Favera, compiled in the fifteenth century.[3] Even though Guarino's dictionary has nothing which is not found elsewhere, wrote Scaliger, it remains a useful reference work.[4] Yet when Thomson wrote to Casaubon later in July, he claimed that Scaliger had said that it contained many things not available from other sources.[5] Not only is this untrue—the lexicon is largely derived from extant sources—it is also contradicted by what Thomson wrote to Vulcanius the very same day, noting the highly derivative contents of the lexicon.[6] The inconsistency is hard to explain: Thomson may have been exaggerating the value of the work in his letter to Casaubon, or Scaliger's initial reaction to the lexicon may have been more positive than his later one.

For some reason, Vulcanius had been unable to look at the lexicon while it was with Scaliger in Leiden, and shortly after it left Leiden he wrote to Thomson

1 See chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599', pp. 55–56.

2 See Thomson to Perrot, 1 March [1600] (pp. 229–231).

3 For Guarino's lexicon, see Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*, Philadelphia, 2010, p. 70.

4 See Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600 (pp. 233–235).

5 Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600: 'Photiae lexicon pridem ad Scaligerum misi, qui in eo multa se reperisse scribit quae frustra alibi quaeras' (pp. 235–239).

6 Thomson to Vulcanius, 22 July 1600: 'Photium meum doleo non potuisse usibus tuis inservire …. Tamen minus doleo cum cogito quam nihil in illo sit bonae frugis quod in editis illis lexicographis non reperiatur. Nam, ut scias, magnam partem illius lexici cum Suida, Phavorino, Hesychio, Apostolio, Zenobio, Harpocratione contuli' (p. 240).

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regretting this fact.[7] As we have seen, in July 1600, Thomson indicated that he had reached the same conclusions as Scaliger regarding the value of the lexicon, but that he would nevertheless make it available to Vulcanius once it had come back to him. Vulcanius' request, he implied, would take priority over a similar one from Thomas Bodley, who had also asked to see it. The precautions taken by Scaliger to ensure the manuscript's safe passage may have delayed its delivery somewhat;[8] by the end of the year, however, it had come home safely to Thomson.[9]

The lexicon was thus in Thomson's library in the summer of 1601 when the Labbé brothers arrived in Cambridge. In the spring of 1602, after they had returned to France, they asked to borrow it, and in May Thomson agreed. Thomson arranged to send it to Casaubon in Paris who would forward it to the brothers in Bordeaux; when they had finished with it, Casaubon would return it to Thomson.[10] Later in May, the brothers asked Casaubon to support their request to Thomson,[11] and Casaubon wrote an encouraging reply to Charles Labbé a few days later.[12] By July, Charles had received a letter from Thomson promising the manuscript of the lexicon.[13] It was, however, unexpect-

7 Vulcanius' letter is lost, but its contents may be inferred from Thomson's reply to Vulcanius of 22 July 1600.

8 Scaliger wrote that he was in the process of returning it in a letter to J. Lydius of 30 August 1600: 'Photium tandem intellexi esse eum qui Augustae excuditur … [i.e. Photii *Bibliotheca*]. Nam "Photionem" vocari mihi novum erat, quum "Photius" vocetur; cuius et ingens dictionarium a Thomsono accepi, et in eo sum ut remittam. Nam nihil est in eo quod non alibi reperiam, itaque inutilis erat mihi' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 490).

9 Thomson to Perrot, 3 December 1600 (pp. 248–249).

10 Thomson to Casaubon, 7 May 1602 (pp. 277–279).

11 Charles Labbé in Bordeaux to Casaubon, 20 May 1602: 'Glossario Latino perfecto, Graecum glossarium addere cuperemus. Hanc ob rem ad clarissimum virum dominum Thomsonem scribere decrevi ut quamprimum usuram Photii lexici nobis concedat; teque etiam hac de re ut eum moneas cum scribes rogo: maximi enim ponderis apud eum est authoritas tua' (London, British Library, Burney 365, fol. 16^{v}).

12 Casaubon to Charles Labbé, 31 May 1602: 'Exspecto quid ad tuas sit responsurus amicissimus Thomson …' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 283, p. 148).

13 Charles Labbé to Casaubon, 6 July 1602: 'Lexicon recentioris ἑλληνισμοῦ ut mones cogitavi, et Deo annuente, Thomsoneque Zonaram et Photium mittente perficiam …'. This letter has a postscript: 'Literis quas nuperrime ab amicissimo Thomsone accepimus certi facti fuimus eum brevi Photium et quosdam alios libros ad nos missurum, precor te, ut si in manus tuas pervenerint cum primum ad nos mittas per dominos Puteanos qui tibi pecuniam quam pro vectura eorum dederis, reddent' (London, British Library, Burney 365, fol. 17$^{r–v}$). The 'Puteani' are the Dupuy brothers in Paris.

edly delayed: in the late summer of 1602, Thomson entrusted the lexicon to an unidentified friend who was about to set off for France; when three months later this friend had still not departed, Thomson was obliged to make alternative arrangements, and the manuscript did not reach Casaubon until January 1603. Once he had it in his own hands, Casaubon inevitably found that he needed to study it himself, and so retained it, while apologising to Thomson for the delay.[14] Since Charles moved to Paris in 1603, he probably consulted it there. Its return journey to Thomson in England is undocumented, but return it did.

The fortunes of this manuscript of the lexicon of Photius are thus unusually well charted. It had passed through the hands of Janus Lascaris (d. 1535) and belonged to Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (1501–1550).[15] Acquired by Thomson from the Strozzi collection in Florence around 1598, he took it with him to England.[16] On this journey, it would have accompanied him to Paris, and he must have shown it to David Hoeschel, a keen student of Photius, in Augsburg in 1599. In England, the lexicon was eyed covetously by Thomas Bodley in 1600. The same year, it travelled to Leiden where it was inspected and critically assessed

14 Casaubon to Charles Labbé, 22 January 1603: 'non dubito et meas et τοῦ πάνυ Thomsonis, quas nunc mitto, literas eo gratiores tibi futuras, quo exspectatiores venient. Qui fasciculum a Thomsone attulit, Photium idem mihi attulit. Quatuor et quod excurrit sunt menses, cum amicus quidam Thomsonis et literas et librum ab illo acceperat ut ad me deferret. Sed cum ille praeter opinionem in Anglia remansisset, neque ex ea insula pedem extulisset, post τριμήνου exspectationem suam repetiit ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς Richardus, qui alia epistola (quam amicissimo Puteano ostendi) moram longiorem excusat. Habemus ergo tandem lexicum illud τριπόθητον Photii; quod mittam ad te, mi Labbaee, ubi primum occasio se obtulerit bona et tuta. Qua in re tuum et optimi Puteani consilium sequar. Velim autem cum in tuas manus ille liber pervenerit, eo utaris statim, et postea remittas. Nam ut ad ea quae nunc sunt in manibus, parum ex usu is codex nobis est, sic ad proximas curas quibus me iamiam cum bono Deo accincturus sum, magnae utilitati videtur futurus' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 328, p. 173). Casaubon to Charles Labbé, undated, but 1603: 'Per mihi gratum fuit quod viam ostendisti ad Thomsonem literas mittendi. Scripsi igitur, etsi raptim et varie impeditus'. This letter has not survived. Casaubon continues: 'De lexico Photii non dubito ipsum excusationem meam accepturum. Nam quia semel is liber in manus meas venit, danda opera est ut aliquid inde addiscam. Quod adhuc non feci, brevi faciam, σὺν τῷ Θεῷ, et vel tibi tradam, vel re acta ad illum mittam' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 1076, p. 625).

15 See C. Theodoridis, ed. *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*. I: Α-Δ, Berlin and New York, 1982, pp. xxx–xxxii.

16 For the manuscript's alienation from the Strozzi collection, see A. Diller, 'Scipio Tettius' *Index Librorum Nondum Editorum*', *American Journal of Philology*, 56, no. 1, 1935, pp. 14–27, p. 20.

by Scaliger before being returned to England. In 1601 it was seen in Cambridge by the Labbé brothers. In 1602, the brothers, now in France, asked to borrow it, and by 1603 it was being studied by Casaubon, and probably Charles Labbé, in Paris. Casaubon, true to his word, returned it to its owner in England. Not long after Thomson's death in 1613, it was to be found in the possession of the great collector Robert Cotton, and around 1616, Cotton gave it to the Royal Librarian Patrick Young.[17] In 1633 Young offered to send it to Daniel Heinsius in Leiden, but Heinsius declined.[18] Later in the seventeenth century, it was acquired by Thomas Gale, and from Gale's collection the manuscript passed to Trinity College, where it remains today.[19] The lexicon is incomplete, as it was when Thomson bought it, with substantial losses at the beginning and end. It was from this imperfect copy that the lexicon was first edited and transcribed by Richard Porson and then published in 1822 by Peter Paul Dobree.[20] Photius' lexicon is not among the most precious survivals of Byzantine literature, but the history of this manuscript demonstrates the remarkable efficiency of the networks which connected renaissance scholars, and the range of intellectual resources that they could bring to bear on such objects. This manuscript had been thoroughly and accurately appraised by the best scholars of the day within a few years of Thomson's purchase.

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17 See C.G. Tite, 'Lost or Stolen or Strayed: A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library', in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector*, ed. C.J. Wright, London, 1997, pp. 289–290.

18 Young to Heinsius, 30 June 1633; Heinsius to Young, 17 September 1633 (J. Kemke, *Patricius Junius* (*Patrick Young*)*: Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I. und Carl I. von England*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 69–71).

19 For Gale, see N. Doggett, 'Gale, Thomas (1635/6–1702)', ODNB, 2004, 21, pp. 303–305. The manuscript is now Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. O.3.9 (olim 1181).

20 *ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΛΕΞΕΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ. E codice Galeano descripsit Ricardus Porsonus*, [Cambridge and London], 1822.

CHAPTER 21

Johannes de Laet, 1603–1606

During the years 1603–1606 Thomson was in regular contact with Johannes de Laet, like Thomson a native of Antwerp. De Laet, significantly younger than Thomson, had enrolled at the University of Leiden in September 1597 at the age of fifteen.[1] He completed his studies in January 1602 and was in Cambridge by the summer of 1603. In July of that year, Scaliger wrote to De Laet, speaking of Thomson as a mutual friend. Thomson had not been able to get hold of a printed volume of Chrysostom for Scaliger, so Scaliger, with his usual persistence, had addressed a letter to De Laet in London in another attempt to find it.[2] Although Scaliger sent his letter to De Laet to London, the addressee was in fact in Cambridge at this date, as appears from the entry he made in the *Album amicorum* of Daniel Pain on 4 July.[3] Thomson and a number of his contemporaries at Cambridge also signed this *Album*, and its contents are worth closer attention.

Pain was in Cambridge in July and August, when he had his *Album* signed and dated by several Cambridge scholars: Rudolf Carr, Thomas Playfere, Andrew Downes, and John Blackborne.[4] Of these men, Blackborne has not been further identified. Carr is probably Ralph Carr, who had graduated from

1 *Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, col. 49.

2 Scaliger to De Laet, 12 July 1603: 'Scripseram ad Richardum Thomsonem nostrum de *Homiliis* Chrysostomi in Anglia excusis. Reicher noster rescripsit Schriverio nusquam comparere venales in Anglia. Tamen quia fieri non potest quin potius ibi reperiantur ubi excusae sunt quam alibi, ideo non veritus sum te rogare, ut si illas nancisci possis eas uti mihi cures. Non possum satis mirari quare illius libri tanta sterilitas sit in illis locis in quibus natus est …' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 96). Scaliger wanted: *D. Ioannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, homiliae sex: ex manuscriptis codicibus Novi Collegii; Ioannis Harmari, eiusdem collegii socii, et Graecarum literarum in inclyta Oxoniensi academia professoris regii, opera et industria nunc primum graece in lucem editae*, Oxford, ex officina typographica Iosephi Barnesii, 1586.

3 'Adiunge te illis qui meliorem te facere possunt. Illos admitte quos tu potes facere meliores. Pietate et doctrina egregio iuveni D. Danieli Pain in amicitiae symbolum scribebam Cantabrigiae 4 Iul. CIↃ IↃ CIII. Ioannes de Laet Antwerp. VITA MORTALIUM VIGILIA' (Edinburgh, University Library, ms. Laing III.524, fol. 215^{r}).

4 Edinburgh, University Library, ms. Laing III.524, fols 112^{r}, 113^{r}, 113^{v}, 205^{r}. The evidence of this Album was overlooked by R.H. Bremmer, 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet (1581–1649) as a Mirror of his Life', *Lias*, 25, 1998, pp. 139–164.

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Trinity College in 1600 and entered the Middle Temple the same year, from where he published one of the earliest English prose works on the Ottoman Turks.[5] Playfere we have already met: he had been incorporated in 1596 as a Doctor of Divinity at Oxford just a few days after Thomson's own incorporation, and he was appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge before the end of the same year. In 1599 Thomson had been among those who opposed Playfere's candidature for the mastership of Clare Hall.[6] Downes too has already appeared in the present study. He had been a fellow at St John's College while Thomson was an undergraduate at Cambridge, and Thomson had known him since at least 1592. In 1605 Downes, like Thomson, was appointed as one of the translators of the King James Bible.[7] Pain also had his book signed by three visiting foreign scholars: Antoine Masson of Poitou, Jean Doucher described misleadingly as 'Gallus', and Jean Revilliod of Geneva.[8] These three continental scholars were travelling together, for they all turned up in Oxford a few months later, where they were admitted to the Bodleian Library on 8 January 1604.[9]

Thomson also contributed to this *Album*, and although his entry indicates no month, it too was probably written like the other Cambridge entries in July or August 1603. It includes the same Greek motto attributed to Aeschylus which he wrote in the *Album* of Daniel Burchgrave in 1600, and the later entry follows the same format as the earlier one.[10] Like the motto from Martial used in the

5 'Rodolphus Carrus' signed Pain's *Album* on 4 August 1603. Ralph Carr matriculated at Trinity College in 1596, and received his degree in 1599–1600 (Cooper and Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1858–1861, 2, p. 395). Carr was a gentleman of the Middle Temple when he published *The Mahumetane or Turkish historie*, London, printed by Thomas Este, 1600.

6 For his biography, see Cooper and Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1858–1861, 2, pp. 513–515; P.E. McCullough, 'Playfere, Thomas (c. 1562–1609)', ODNB, 2004, 44, pp. 567–568.

7 For his biography, see E. Leedham-Green and N.G. Wilson, 'Downes, Andrew (c. 1549–1628)', ODNB, 2004, 16, pp. 791–792.

8 Edinburgh, University Library, ms. Laing III.524, fols 200^{v}, 201^{r}, 201^{v}. Masson has not been further identified. Doucher (1573–1629), born in Ghent, later became pasteur of the Walloon churches in Middelburg, Vlissingen and Amsterdam: see A.J. van der Aa, ed. *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 12 vols, Haarlem, 1852–1878, 4, pp. 300–301; NNBW, 1911–1937, 4, col. 519. Revilliod (1582–1645) registered as a student in Geneva on 1 May 1599: see S. Stelling-Michaud, ed. *Le livre du recteur de l'Académie de Genève* (*1559–1878*), Geneva, 1959, p. 128.

9 See Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 1887, p. 264.

10 'Αἰσχυλος. / 'Ο χρήσιμ' εἰδὼς οὐχ ὁ πόλλ' εἰδὼς σοφός. / Danieli Pain / Iuveni / Eruditissimo / Humanissimo / Amicissimoque / Amoris et benevolentiae caussa / L.M.P. / Richardus Thomson Angl. / CIↃ IↃ CIII. / Cantebrid. Anglorum. / Quae me cunque tenent terrae'

Burchgrave inscription, Thomson ends with a quotation, or near-quotation, from Vergil: 'Quae me cunque tenent terrae', 'whatever lands hold me'.[11] Here, Thomson seems to be alluding to his Anglo-Dutch background, or to the many years he had spent wandering around Europe. The allusion is similar in tone to that which he made to Martial in the inscription to Burchgrave.

De Laet left England for the continent in the spring of 1604, and he travelled to Paris where he met Casaubon in March. He was still in Paris at the end of April, but by May 1604, he was back in England. He did not go to Leiden on this return journey, and may not have passed via the Low Countries at all: in May Scaliger expressed his disappointment that De Laet would not be visiting.[12] In London, on 3 July 1604, De Laet married Jacobmijntje van Loor, daughter of Pieter van Loor, an Anglo-Dutch merchant resident in London. It is possible that Thomson attended De Laet's wedding: Thomson is to be found in London just a few days earlier, on 30 June 1604, at which date he is anticipating his imminent departure for the countryside with a number of well-born gentlemen.[13] As a prominent member of the Anglo-Dutch community and a friend of the groom, Thomson's presence at the event would have been natural.

De Laet seemed likely to settle in London for some time, and he received his letter of denization dated 16 August 1604. De Laet's father remained in Leiden, and the correspondence between father and son provided a reliable conduit for letters and parcels. Scaliger seized on this connection to acquire books. In September 1604, De Laet wrote to Scaliger, apologising for the imperfect state of a Bible which De Laet had forwarded to him: Thomson, De Laet claimed ungraciously, had neglected to examine the Bible properly before he bought it. De Laet also wrote that Scaliger would receive from his father in Leiden a letter from Thomson accompanying a parchment manuscript which has not been identified. Most intriguingly, we learn that Thomson had promised to supply De Laet with a list of the Arabic manuscripts recently brought to London by a

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(Edinburgh, University Library, ms. Laing III.524, fol. 116^{r}). The Greek motto is a fragment ascribed to Aeschylus (Fragment 218 (390), preserved in Stobaeus, *Anthology*, III.3.11).

11 A modification of Vergil, *Aeneid*, I.610: 'Quae me cunque vocant terrae'.

12 Scaliger to De Laet, 22 May 1604: 'Caeterum, quum quamprimum te ad nos convolaturum putarem, de eo desperare coepi quum parentem tuum ad vos proficisci videam, nisi forte ea gratia susceperit hoc iter, ut te inde ad nos traducat. … De Bibliis iterum aurem vello, si potest succedere. Sin autem, verbum non amplius addam …' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 318).

13 See Thomson to Scriverius, 30 June 1604 (pp. 285–287).

merchant.[14] Despite this exciting notice, neither Thomson nor Scaliger speaks of this list in their extant letters. It does raise the possibility that Thomson—who had studied under the pioneering Arabists Christmann and Scaliger in the 1590s—had some rudimentary knowledge of Arabic. After all, if Thomson had had no expertise in the language, then De Laet's opinion on the books would have been just as useful to Scaliger.

In November 1605, Scaliger asked De Laet for information about Thomas Lydiat. He had, he wrote, already asked Thomson for the same.[15] Scaliger wanted information on Lydiat because he was preparing a response to Lydiat's works on chronology, published in London in 1605.[16] Thomson replied immediately that he did not know Lydiat, a response which Scaliger found frustrating.[17] It was probably from Thomson's lost reply that Scaliger learned that Thomson had come across an edition of the commentary on the Apostolic Canons by the twelfth-century chronicler Joannes Zonaras.[18] Scaliger asked again for the

14 De Laet to Scaliger, 7 November 1604: 'Binas a te literas … accepi …. Ex prioribus illis defectum in Bibliis Britannicis dolui, quia resarciri non potest, peccatum sane largiter a Thomsone, quod non antequam emeret librum diligenter volverit. … Accipies insuper a parente literas Thomsonis cum fasciculo in quo vetus liber manuscriptus est in membranis. … Londinum magna copia librorum Arabicorum a quodam mercatore eius linguae perito allata erat, quorum catalogum mihi Thomson pollicitus erat. An in literis tuis praestiterit, ignoro, nam non licuit mihi ipsum ante discessum convenire' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 405–406). For a list of manuscripts owned by Thomson, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library'.

15 This letter to Thomson is lost, but it is mentioned in Scaliger to Thomson, 1 December 1605 (pp. 300–304).

16 Scaliger to De Laet, 15 November 1605: 'Idem a Thomsone in literis petivi quas una cum iis coniunxi quas ad te misi. … Literas tuas et responsum a Thomsone expecto' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 221–222).

17 Scaliger to De Laet, 1 December 1605: 'Quaerebam ex te quis esset iste insignis nugator Thomas Lydiad. Quod si nescis, id ut ab aliis scisciteris, magnopere a te contendebam. … Thomson scribit sibi ignotum esse. Ego istis quas ad illum scribo et una cum tuis ad te mitto, oro eum ut diligentius de illo, quod poterit, expiscetur. … Mirum vero Thomsoni, homini Anglo, ignotum esse, quum tamen omnibus nundinis de eius sterquilinio aliquid prodeat. Nihil mihi gratius facere potes quam, si id de homine hoc quod peto ex te intellexero, aut ut a Thomsone saltem literas elicias quae omnem hanc sollicitudinem mihi adimant' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, p. 231).

18 Scaliger to De Laet, 11 January 1606: 'Gaudeo Thomsonem in *Canonas* Zonarae incidisse, quos missurum se promittit. Simulac accepero, patri tuo nummos solvam. Vale. … Mitto ad te versus in *Amphitheatrum* Satanicum. Quaeso te ut illos etiam Thomsoni nostro impertias' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, p. 266). This work is

book in February, and he received it.[19] Scaliger also asked De Laet to share with Thomson the poems Scaliger had sent mocking the scurrilous *Amphitheatrum honoris*.[20] In a letter to De Laet of 10 June 1606, Thomson is awaiting a copy of Scaliger's greatest work, the *Thesaurus temporum*, and he asks De Laet to deliver a letter or letters to Scaliger in Leiden. Scaliger in turn wanted Thomson to supply him with information on the reception of the *Thesaurus* in England.[21]

By the autumn of 1606 De Laet's young wife was dead and the widower was meditating a return to the Low Countries. He seems to have been in Middelburg by October, although Scaliger still believed that he was in touch with Thomson.[22] De Laet was certainly back in the Low Countries by 1607, when an edition of Scaliger's criticisms of the chronological work of David Pareus was dedicated to him by Franciscus Gomarus.[23] The relationship between Thomson and De Laet may have been founded on mutual convenience rather than real affection, and there is no evidence that the two men had any further contact after De Laet left England.

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edited in J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*, 161 vols, Paris, 1857–1866, 137, cols 35–218.

19 Scaliger to De Laet, 2 February 1606: 'Ad Thomsonem postremis illis scripsi ut tibi τὰ τοῦ Ζωναρᾶ εἰς κανόνας ἀποστολικοὺς tradat. Scripsit enim mihi se nactum fuisse. Ego precium patri tuo statim numerabo' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 292–293). The copy Scaliger received is in the auction catalogue of his library: 'Canones Apost. Concil. Sanct. latin. cum Balsamone. Paris. 1561' (*The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 3). Scaliger wrote his own commentary on the Apostolic Canons: see H.J. de Jonge, 'J.J. Scaliger's *De LXXXV Canonibus Apostolorum Diatribe*', *Lias*, 2, 1975, pp. 115–124.

20 Scaliger to De Laet, 11 January 1606: 'Mitto ad te versus in *Amphitheatrum* Satanicum. Quaeso te ut illos etiam Thomsoni nostro impertias'; Scaliger to De Laet, 2 February 1606: 'Postremis versiculi in Onanitarum *Amphitheatrum* additi erant. … Eorum usuram Thomsoni nostro noli invidere' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 266, 292).

21 Scaliger to De Laet, 4 October 1606: 'Gratum nobis feceris si quid ex Thomsone literarum elicere poteris, ut de Eusebio meo eius aut aliorum sententias intelligam' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, p. 572).

22 Scaliger to De Laet, 4 October 1606: 'De literis quas ad me Middelburgo misisti, gratias ago; eae erant ab amplissimo curiae Rotomagensis praeside' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, p. 572). The intermediary seems to have been Claude Groulart (c. 1551–1607), Premier Président of the Parlement of Rouen.

23 *I. Scaligeri Iul. Caes. a Burden f. Elenchus utriusque orationis chronologicae D. Davidis Parei: quarum secunda operis calci addita, prior vero commentariis auctoris in Hoseam Heydelbergae excusis prostat*, Leiden, ex officina Henrici Ludovici ab Haestens, impensis Ludovici Elzevierii, 1607. Gomarus' preface is dated 10 January 1607.

CHAPTER 22

Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605

We have seen that Thomson maintained his interest in continental textual scholarship after his return to England in 1600. Some time after his return, he corresponded with the young Dutch scholar Petrus Scriverius about the text of Statius' *Silvae*.[1] Thomson's lost letter to Scriverius on the subject was consulted by 1616 by Jan Caspar Gevaerts in connection with his edition of the same year.[2] At this date, the letter must have been kept among Scriverius' personal papers and its recipient presumably showed it to Gevaerts.[3] The emendation, which seems to be conjectural and not based on any of the manuscripts which Thomson had consulted in Italy or Germany, is still printed under Thomson's name in the standard Oxford text of the work.[4] Thomson offered more substantial support to a much more ambitious project of Scriverius, an edition of Martial's epigrams begun in 1602. The edition was suppressed by its editor and no copy has come to light. Since there is no modern account of the fortunes of this lost edition, and since it has misled bibliographers over the years, it will be useful to set out its history in detail. There are, however, other reasons for looking more closely at it here: it is an unusually well-documented example of the collaborative energies which created so many renaissance books, and it offers a rare insight into the pressures which ensured that some of them were never published.

1 The discussion evidently related to Statius, *Silvae*, book 1, no. 6, line 8.

2 'Richardus Thomson in litteris ad Scriverium nostrum legit "ebriamque noctem". Aitque eam esse indubitatam correctionem, cum ipse Statius in *Epistola ad Stellam* [prefaced to the book by Statius], de hoc suo carmine agens, sic loquatur. Ait enim: "In fine sunt Kal. Decembr. quibus utique creditur. Noctem enim illam felicissimam habent, et voluptatibus publicis inexpertam". Quin de ebrietate illius noctis et infra meminit: "vixdum caerula nox subibat orbem". [*Silvae*, 1.6.85] Et mox addit: "Largi flumina quis canat Lyaei? / Iam iam deficio, tuoque Baccho / In longum trahor ebrius soporem". [*Silvae*, 1.6.95–97] Idem Thomson aiebat se in manuscripto reperisse "ebriamque moeram".' (*Publii Papinii Statii Opera omnia. Ianus Casperius Gevartius recensuit, et Papinianarum lectionum lib. v. illustravit*, Leiden, Jacobus Marcus, 1616, part 2 (notes), pp. 112–113).

3 For Gevaerts (Gevartius), see M. Hoc, *Le déclin de l'humanisme belge: Étude sur Jean-Gaspard Gevaerts philologue et poète (1593–1666)*, Brussels, 1922.

4 Statius, *Silvae*, book 1, no. 6, line 8, a line regarded as corrupt by modern editors: see the edition of J.S. Phillimore, Oxford, 1905, repr. 1949.

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Scriverius' edition began as an attempt to improve on the edition of his older contemporary, and Thomson's friend, Jan Gruter.[5] Gruter published an edition of Martial with a commentary in Frankfurt in the spring of 1602.[6] Two factors conspired for the immediate replacement of Gruter's edition: the first was that the work was felt to have been badly served by its printer, carelessly printed on very poor quality paper; the second was that another edition of Martial had appeared at almost exactly the same time as Gruter's. This was a very finely printed folio edition of the poet published at Ingolstadt, with the vast and learned commentary of the Jesuit Matthias Rader. Scriverius' work may thus have been conceived as a Protestant response by the University of Leiden to Rader's work from the Jesuit College in Ingolstadt.[7]

Scriverius, then twenty-six years old, proposed, or was persuaded, to undertake this new edition.[8] Gruter was eager to collaborate with a project which would display his own scholarship in a more elegant setting, and in 1602 he sent a dozen copies of his own edition to Leiden via the spring bookfair at Frankfurt.[9] Scriverius' work was to be an edition *de luxe* on the finest paper,

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5 For Thomson and Gruter, see chapters 5, 'England, 1591–May 1592', p. 17, and 6, 'Germany, May 1592–April 1593', pp. 21–22.

6 *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammaton libri XV. ... Mille amplius locis serio correcti atque emendati a Iano Grutero ope et consilio ms. Palat. Bibliotheca*, Frankfurt, ex officina Paltheniana sumptibus Ioanae Rhodii, 1602. Gruter's Martial was to have been printed at Heidelberg by the Officina Commeliniana, but with that press struggling to print his collection of ancient inscriptions, he looked to Frankfurt: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 28–30. The edition was certainly in print by May, for Scaliger wrote to Lindenbrogius on 10 June 1602: 'Gruterus luculentam operam navavit Martiali. Vix est ut quisquam melius de prisco aliquo autore sit meritus. Sed puto te vidisse' (ibid., 4, p. 308).

7 *M. Valerii Martialis epigrammaton libri omnes, novis commentariis ... illustrati ... a Matthaeo Radero, De societate Iesu*, Ingolstadt, Adamus Sartorius, 1602.

8 Scaliger to Gruter, 9 June 1602: 'Id ut faceret, impulit eum amor in te et publicae utilitatis' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, p. 301).

9 In a letter to Scriverius of 18 June 1602, Gruter was unsure that they had arrived safely, but expressed satisfaction with Scriverius' plan to revise the work: 'Nuper in nundinis miseram tibi XII amplius Martialis exemplaria per Elzevirium, tuaeque epistolae incluseram totidem ad amicos meos epistolas quibus pro inscriptione communicares nugas meas. Nunc cum dominus Heinsius exinde bis me literis suis convenerit, semel Meursius, neque mentionem ullam faciant receptarum a me literarum, quaeso ut me ipsis purges, ut et dominis Scaligero, Dousae, Vulcanio, Hogerbetio [*sic*], Rosendaliis, Bertio, Heremitri etc. Nam certe ego fascem vel Elzevirio dedi in manus, vel famulo eiusdem; adeo ut forte omiserit omnia Francfurti. De Martiale, nihil damni est. Nam ut redeo Heidelbergam et eum perlego, t[ot o]ffendo mendas, tot ineptias typographi, ut si arbitrarer emendatus apud vos exprimi posse, statim omnibus membris emendatum transmitterem. Aliquid heic vel Francfurti edere, est se traducere; adeo

a *luculenta editio* printed on *charta luculenta*.[10] One person who had very good reason to be unhappy with the projected volume was the Frankfurt printer of Gruter's edition, no doubt dismayed by the announcement of a superior edition just weeks after his own went on sale.[11] In the event, as we shall see, he had nothing to fear. Scriverius was a young man of independent means, and he took the costs of this publication upon himself.[12] During its progress through the press, the edition remained the property of its editor rather than its printer, an unusual situation and one which ultimately facilitated its suppression.

The new edition received some of the best pre-publication publicity the period could offer: Scaliger announced it enthusiastically to his correspondents across Europe. Over the following years, the non-appearance of Scriverius' edition would prove to be an embarrassment to Scaliger, but the edition progressed steadily throughout 1603. In February, Scaliger was able to report that the volume had been printed up to book nine and that Scriverius hoped to have it finished by Easter.[13] By March this date had slipped a little, and Scaliger wrote that it would be finished after Pentecost.[14] Around the same time, Scriverius

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correctorum vulgus nullas prorsus novit literas' (Uppsala, University Library, Waller ms. benl. 357; some characters, lost when the seal was removed, have been supplied).

10 Scaliger to Gruter, 9 June 1602: 'Sed dolemus typographum de eo non melius meritum esse, quam eos qui illum castrarunt. Nam charta plane est quam Annalibus Volusianis attribuit Catullus. [Catullus, *Carmina*, 36.1] Itaque haec dolens noster Scriverius decrevit dare typographo qui mundiore charta et splendidiore cultu edat' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, p. 301); Scaliger to Gruter, 14 November [1602]: 'Scriverius noster adornat editionem Martialis tuam; ut emendatissima prodeat, et in charta luculenta, is operam dabit' (ibid., 4, p. 454); Scaliger to Woverius, 27 March 1603: 'Luculentam editionem Martialis adornat et totus in ea est' (ibid., 4, p. 636).

11 For the printer, see this chapter, note 6.

12 Scaliger to Thomson, 1 December 1605: 'Sumptibus enim eius editus est' (p. 303). Scriverius discussed the costs of printing in Leiden in a letter to Johannes Isaacus Pontanus of 14 May 1605: 'Bassonium [i.e. Basson the printer] itaque conveni: is pro charta et impressione in singula folia septem florenos exigit, quod pretium tolerabile est. … Ego in Martiale meo sex florenos dedi, et charta mihi seorsim persolvenda fuit' (A. Matthaeus, *Veteris aevi analecta, seu vetera monumenta hactenus nondum visa*, 2nd edn, 5 vols, The Hague, Gerard Block, 1738, 3, p. 702).

13 Scaliger to Gruter, 26 February 1603: 'Tuus Martialis ad nonum usque librum promotus est. Sperat Scriverius ante Pascha contextum absolutum iri. Quantum lectores poterat absterrere deformitas editionis prioris, tantum haec invitabit ab elegantia typorum et splendore chartae. Nam scito, mi Grutere, hodie vix posse prodire meliorem et luculentiorem editionem quam hanc fore speramus' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, p. 586).

14 Scaliger's own edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon* was being delayed because the press was

asked Elias Putschius and Gottfried Jungermann for prefatory verses to adorn the edition, a sure sign that he felt that the end was in sight.[15] In April, apparently still on schedule, Scriverius stated that the text had been nearly printed, and that he would soon turn his attention to the commentary and supplementary works.[16] By September, Scriverius was able to record that Gruter's commentary on the poems had also been printed.[17]

It was around this time that the most serious problems began. Scriverius had begun to solicit the help of other scholars for his projected edition. As a result, what had originally begun as an attempt to produce a fine edition of Martial, based largely on Gruter's work of 1602, was transformed in 1603, while the book was still in the press, into an increasingly ambitious project, incorporating the labours of at least six contemporary scholars. In 1603 Scriverius wrote to Justus Lipsius in Louvain asking for a contribution.[18] Lipsius had already contributed some notes to Rader's edition of the previous year, but replied that he would be happy to help.[19] It seems to have been around this date that Scriverius

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occupied by Scriverius' Martial. Scaliger to Welser, 27 March [1603]: 'Eusebio nostro mora non nocuit …. Eam charta moratur et typographus, cuius opera occupata in Scriverii Martiali, cuius luculentissimam editionem post Pentecosten absolutum iri credo' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 632–633). Scriverius to Putschius, 28 March 1603: 'Post Martialem, meum excusum auspicabitur Guyotius Eusebium Scaligeri, chronica, etc.' (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 489, no. 52).

15 Scriverius to Putschius, 28 March 1603 (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 489, no. 52). Both men supplied verses: see Scriverius to Putschius, 1 September 1603 (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 489, no. 46).

16 Scriverius to Adriaan van der Burch, 3 April 1603: 'Martialis poetae epigrammatarii nova editio mihi nunc prora et puppis est, quod dicitur. Textus eius laborat in fine. Ad Maium mensem, credo, auspicabuntur operae animadversiones meas; nisi prius excudendum dedero Florilegium epigrammatum aliquot Martialis Graece, ab illustri viro Iosepho Scaligero nuper mei in gratiam conversorum …' (*Insignium virorum epistolae selectae, quae nunc primum prodeunt, ex bibliotheca Iani Guilielmi Meelii*, Amsterdam, 1701, pp. 58–59). For Scaliger's Greek translations of Martial, see this chapter, note 22.

17 Scriverius to Putschius, 1 September 1603: 'Quam primum Lugdunum reversus fuero—nam nunc Amsterodami sum—dabo notas meas excudendas. Excusae iam sunt notae Gruteri nostri, quibus multis locis emendatioribus accedit luculentum *Auctarium* ab ipso ad me missum' (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 489, no. 46).

18 A letter of Lipsius to Scriverius, dated 1603 *sine mense*, appeared in the edition of Martial published by Scriverius in 1618–1619. Lipsius, writing from Louvain, says that he received letters from Scriverius while he was recovering from an illness at Antwerp: 'ex istis disco, in Martiali concinnando an eo illustrando, te esse' (*M. Val. Martialis nova editio. Ex Museo Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, apud Ioannem Maire, 1618–1619, part 3, p. 3).

19 For Rader's edition, see this chapter, note 7, and F.-R. Hausmann, 'Martialis, Marcus

approached Johannes Isaacus Pontanus to explore some manuscripts of Martial in Denmark.[20] By 1603 Scaliger had contributed a diatribe against the recent work of Theodorus Marcilius on the *Liber spectaculorum*,[21] and Scriverius also decided to print Scaliger's Greek verse translations of Martial as an appendix.[22] In 1603, Scriverius distributed a handful of copies of this appendix to special

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Valerius', in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, 4, Washington D.C., 1980, pp. 249–296, pp. 284–287.

20 Pontanus (1571–1639) examined a manuscript of Martial while he was in Denmark, and sent his collations to Scriverius: see the undated prefatory letter from Pontanus printed in the edition of 1618–1619 (F.-R. Hausmann, 'Martialis, Marcus Valerius', in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, 4, Washington D.C., 1980, pp. 249–296, p. 294). Pontanus was in Cambridge in 1596, when Thomson signed his *Album amicorum*: "Ερμῆς. Ὁ εὐσεβῶν ἄκρως φιλοσοφεῖ. Optimo et doctissimo Ioanni Isaacio amoris et benevolentiae monimen. P. Richardus Thomson, Cantebrigiae M D XCVI a. d. XIII Cal. April.' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rothschild 3371, fol. 19^{r}). In July 1599 Pontanus was in Denmark, after which he tutored three cousins of Tycho Brahe on their Grand Tour through Germany. Pontanus returned in 1602 to either Denmark or Holland (P.N. v. Doorninck and P.C. Molhuysen, eds, *Brieven van en aan Jo. Is. Pontanus, 1595–1639*, Haarlem, 1909, p. vii).

21 Scaliger encouraged Scriverius to undertake a refutation of the commentary of Theodorus Marcilius on Martial: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 194–196. Scriverius, however, urged Scaliger to undertake the work. Marcilius' commentary on the *Liber spectaculorum* was first printed in 1584, reprinted in 1593, and revised for publication at Paris in 1601: *M.V. Martialis epigrammata in Caesaris Amphitheatrum et venationes … emendata illustrataque commentario recentato et aucto T. Marcilii*, Paris, 1601. This last edition inspired the refutation. See Scaliger to Casaubon, 18 December 1601: 'quum animum remittere volo, assumo in manus scripta illius qui *Amphitheatrum* Martialis et Persium nuper κατακέχοδεν. Nam nunquam suavius rideo quam quum aliquid eius Lucumonis video. Saepe mirari soleo illum tantum scriptorum legisse ideo ut nihil sciret. Quam saepe delirat! Et tamen habet admiratores. Habeat igitur, sed Parisienses: εὗρεν ἁ λοπὰς τὸ πῶμα' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, p. 150). Marcilius also criticised Casaubon, but later made an attempt at reconciliation: see Casaubon to Scaliger, 9 April 1604 (ibid., 5, pp. 276–278).

22 In the autumn of 1601 Scaliger was making verse translations of Martial in his bed as he lay awake at night. In January 1602 he wrote to Casaubon: 'Sed quod diximus περὶ τοῦ παραβολεύεσθαι in Manilio, id omne dissimulat scarabaeus ille qui scripsit in *Amphitheatrum* Martialis, homo incertum imperitiorne an malignior. Eius deliramenta, ubi vacabit mihi, et errores quibus illum libellum Martialis inquinavit, tibi mittam, una cum omnibus spectaculis Martialis quae ego versibus Graecis reddidi noctu in grabato' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 183–184); Scaliger to Casaubon, 18 February 1602: 'Habeo quaedam Graece conversa ex Martiali quae tibi mitterem, si per has occupationes notulas colligere liceret. Sed aliquando mittam' (ibid., 4, p. 214).

friends. These copies, now extraordinarily rare, seem to be the only surviving leaves from this lost first edition of Martial.[23]

As a consequence of this interconnected editorial activity, printing of Scriverius' edition proceeded very slowly throughout 1603.[24] Scaliger genuinely believed that the work was imminent in September 1603, when he advised Didier Hérauld in Paris to delay his own notes on Martial until he had seen Scriverius' edition.[25] The matter came to a head the following year, in 1604, when Scaliger had to deal with inquiries from a number of correspondents, including Casaubon, Gruter, Woverius, and Thomson.[26] It looks likely that around this time Scriverius had tried to blame the printers for the slow progress

23 *ΑΝΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ* [*sic*] *ΜΑΡΤΙΑΛΟΥ. Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caes. f. vertit Graece ad Isaacium Casaubonium. V.C. Petrus Scriverius publicavit. Idem alia eiusdem Scaligeri Poematia, et Iuveniles aliquot Tralationes adiecit*, [Leiden], excudebat Guyotius typis Raphelengianis, 1603. No other date appears in the volume, but Casaubon acknowledged the gift in a letter dated 29 June 1604 (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 400, p. 213). I know of a single example of this book, now Cambridge, Trinity College, Grylls 5.57, bound before a copy of Scriverius' later edition of Martial, 1618–1619. The bibliophile Antoine-Augustin Renouard owned at his death in 1853 a copy inscribed to Janus Dousa *pater* which I have been unable to locate: see *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de livres, manuscrits, autographes, dessins et gravures composant actuellement la bibliothèque de M.A.A.R.*, Paris, 1853, no. 1160, p. 119. Scaliger's Greek versions of Martial eventually emerged separately: *Florilegium Epigrammatum Martialis. Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caesaris f. vertit Graece ad Isaacium Casaubonium*, Paris, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1607.

24 In March 1603 Scaliger wrote that his Eusebius is delayed by the lack of paper and by the fact that the printer is busy with Scriverius' Martial. Scaliger to Casaubon, 23 March 1603: 'Eusebium nostrum charta moratur, quam optimam curat Commelinus, qui eius editor erit. Praeterea typographus qui excudet nunc occupatus est in Martiale Scriverii' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, p. 619).

25 In February 1600, Hérauld wrote to Scaliger about his notes on Martial, offering to withhold his own work if Scaliger were about to publish similar material (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 393–394). Hérauld's notes were published the same year: *Desiderii Heraldi animadversiones ad libros XII Epigrammat. M. Val. Martialis*, Paris, 1600–1601. For these notes, see F.-R. Hausmann, 'Martialis, Marcus Valerius.' *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, 4, Washington D.C., 1980, pp. 249–296, pp. 283–284. Scaliger sent notes on Martial to Hérauld but they seem to have gone astray. On 25 August 1603, Scaliger wrote to Hérauld of Scriverius' edition: 'Propediem exibit editio nova Martialis Petri Scriverii nostri, quam auctor tibi sum prius expectes antequam tua edas. Multum debet is scriptor optimo et eruditissimo Grutero nostro, cuius editionem elegantioribus typis et luculentiore charta instaurat Scriverius, sed maxima accessione optimarum et emendationum et animadversionum. Et iam opus affectum est, ut puto' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 124).

26 Casaubon to Heinsius, 6 January 1604: 'Velim significes proximis literis de Martiali Scriverii

of the edition. Printers are seldom spared in Scaliger's letters, but by July he suspected that this was simply an excuse, and by August he was sure that the blame lay entirely with Scriverius. He knew that printing of the volume was almost complete, and had paused only a handful of pages from the end.[27]

The delayed edition became so notorious that Dominicus Baudius composed a lengthy and elaborate Latin poem urging Scriverius to publish the work.[28] Scaliger was clearly baffled by Scriverius' attitude, and felt obliged to offer Thomson some explanation: 'I press Scriverius every day, and he listens very carefully to me; but my complaint about the delay only lengthens it'.[29] By October 1604, Scaliger believed that the edition had been abandoned.[30]

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quid iam spei sit reliquum. Nam annus, ni fallor, praeteriit, ex quo scripsit ad me Iosephus Scaliger inchoatam eius editionem' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 377, p. 200); Scaliger to Casaubon, 5 March 1604: 'Martialis Scriverii si eo pede perexisset quo caeperat, praeterita aestate potuisset ad vos pervenire. Sed pudet me tibi scribere de lentitudine horum hominum, quanvis multa sint in illis quae laudes' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 249); Scaliger to Gruter, 17 March 1604: 'Urgeo quotidie Scriverium nostrum de Martiali, qui prope ad finem adfectus haeret in luto, cuius morae caussam ne ipse quidem Scriverius reddere possit …. Nam certe … poterat Martialis ille aestate praeterita prodiisse' (ibid., 5, p. 258); Woverius to Scriverius, 7 April 1604: 'Quando quaeso Martiale tuo me beabis?' (Woverius, *Epistolarum centuriae II. Eiusdem syntagma de Bibliorum interpretatione cum epistolis clarorum virorum ad Wowerum*, Hamburg, apud Michaelem Heringium, [1618], no. 47, p. 95); Scaliger to Casaubon, 26 April 1604: 'Martialis Scriverii ante annum poterat prodire, nisi tam per illum quam per typographum stetisset. Multa ostendit mihi quae imperitiam morionis tui σκατοφάγου perstringunt' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 283–284). This *morio* was Marcilius, for whom see this chapter, note 21.

27 Scaliger to Gruter, 27 July 1604: 'Quod Martialis nondum prodiit, typographo an Scriverio adscribam, an utrique, nescio' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 379); Scaliger to Gruter, 2 September 1604: 'Martialis Scriverii, qui ante XV menses potuerat prodire, eodem in statu est, hoc est implorat opem, non typographi (non enim eius culpa est) sed Scriverii, cuius moram excusare nulla sinit ratio, quandoquidem per illum solum hactenus steterit quominus Martialem habeamus. Quatuor aut ad summum quinque tantum foliis abest a fine' (ibid., 5, p. 401).

28 Baudius, *Poematum nova editio*, Leiden, Thomas Basson, 1607, pp. 391–409. The poem is 567 lines long. The precise date of its composition is unclear.

29 Scaliger to Thomson, 9 August 1604: 'Scriverii Martialis ante XV menses poterat prodire, si per negotia illius licuisset. Quatuor tantum quaterniones absolvendo operi desunt. Urgeo quotidie hominem et libenter obiurgationem meam audit. Sed castigatio morae moram ipsam auget' (p. 288).

30 Scaliger to Casaubon, 17 October 1604: 'Ante XVIII menses parum a fine abest eius Martialis, quem cum Grutterianis notis et suis adornat. … Opus autem ipsum, quod tot menses

In November, Scriverius promised to take it up again,[31] but by 1605 no more progress had been made, and Scaliger began to inform his correspondents one by one, in tones of weariness and exasperation, that he did not believe that it would ever appear.[32] He also set in motion arrangements to have his

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proxime abest a fine, cur non prodeat, neque caussam communisci, neque ab eo expiscari potui. Si quid iudico, non solum consilium, sed et animum edendi abiecisse videtur, quanvis eum amice obiurgo, et ut illam mercem extrudat omnes machinas admoveo. Frustra fui semper' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 421).

31 Scaliger to Gruter, 18 November 1604: 'Scriverio videor calcar subiecisse ad Martialem repetendum. Promisit se non defuturum. Adhuc tamen cessatur' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 461).

32 Scaliger to Gruter, 17 March 1605: 'Martialis Scriverii iam fere integrum biennium cessat prope absolutus, ut ad supremam manum tria tantum aut quatuor folia desint. Caussam cessationis nunquam ex ipso scire potuimus, neque spes nulla affulget editionis maturandae. Quae poenitentia aut religio illi incesserit ut opus prope absolutum in tenebris premat, nondum nobis compertum est. Non cesso moras castigare, obiurgare, flagitare …' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, p. 579); Scaliger to Putschius, 17 July 1605: 'De Scriverio iam desino vaticinari. Ecce aliud exemplum levitatis meae! Parum erat quod querebar, modo meum stylum omnium impudentiae prostituere, nisi etiam me aliena fide obligarem. Hoc feci quando omnibus scripsi ut propediem editionem Martialis eius sperarent, meque eius sponsorem esse. Biennium abit, postquam oportuit non solum illum librum prodiisse, sed etiam omnia exemplaria distracta fuisse. Itaque non ad illum sed ad me infamia huius mendacii pertinet, qui eius fidem sequutus, nihil quam vanum me et aretalogum amicis meis et summis viris probavi. Neque spes est illum Martialem exiturum, quanquam proxime abest a fine; neque causam tam serae poenitentiae ego aut amici ex illo scire potuimus …. De grammaticis tuis, iam spem multis feci. Cave ne Scriverium imiteris, et me vaniloquem apud summates viros concinnes' (ibid., 6, pp. 91–92); Scaliger to Gruter, 27 August 1605: 'Unum oro: ne despondeas animum, ut Scriverio contigit, qui totum propositum et animum de editione Martialis abiecit, quamquam illa proxime absit a fine; neque pudet eum fidem decoquere quam toties nobis obligavit' (ibid., 6, p. 128). Scaliger to Thomson, 1 December 1605: 'Martialem amici nostri nunquam proditurum spero. Trium aut quatuor foliorum ad summum opus est ut absolvatur. Et tamen ante biennium si prodiisset, sero prodiisset. Quoties mihi deieravit se supremam manum operi additurum? Nullius magis quam eius intererat iam publicatum fuisse. Sumptibus enim eius editus est. Et quid moram hanc excusare possit, non video. Interpretatio nostra Graeca multorum, et quidem meliorum ac castiorum epigrammatum, una edita est. Opusculum in capita, instar ἀνθολογίας, spectaculorum, epitaphiorum, virorum, puerorum, foeminarum, et aliorum praeterea argumentorum digessimus, quae profecto tam indigna sunt latere quam Martialem ipsum. Sed quid agas? Obstinatus obdurat' (p. 303). However, in a letter from Baudius to Woverius, 6 November 1605, the edition is still anticipated (Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1660, cent. 2, ep. 9, p. 170). Scriverius to Putschius, 20 February 1606, postscript: 'Hem! Pene exciderat monere de Martiale meo, eum nec nunc prodire.

Greek versions of Martial printed separately.[33] A few years after Scaliger's death, Scriverius did print Scaliger's Greek versions of Martial, as part of an edition of all of Scaliger's poetry.[34] Perhaps he was belatedly making amends for trying the old man's patience so sorely.

Much of the story outlined here is comprehensible. The project was born out of a conjunction of circumstances—Gruter's good Protestant scholarship of 1602 marred by poor printing, and the emphatic Catholicism of Rader's provocatively beautiful edition the same year. Into this breach stepped Scriverius, a promising young man willing to lay out his own money in the service of learning. Unfortunately, as it developed, the project became ever more ambitious and ever harder to perfect. This situation was compounded by the fact that the ambitions for the edition grew even as it was being printed, and the commentary was still very much a work in progress by the time the text itself had been finalised in print. Scriverius was financing the project himself: he had the luxury of holding onto the work until he was satisfied with it, and he proved unable to satisfy himself.

This nearly-complete edition does not survive today, and it was probably pulped by Scriverius or his heirs. To destroy a nearly complete edition in this way is rare, but we are likely not to have been deprived of much of the scholarship: most of the material gathered for this lost edition ultimately found its way into Scriverius' edition of 1618–1619. Many of the notes which Scriverius gathered for his edition, and possibly some of the printed sheets, were still in his library at his death in 1660, and were sold in Amsterdam in 1663.[35] At least

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Typographus meus obiit, nec alius est qui occupatis praelis suis mihi gratificari voluit aut potuit. Edetur igitur aestate aut nunquam edetur' (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 489, no. 50). The printer was Christopher Guyot (Guyotius), who was still active in 1604.

33 See, for example, Scaliger to Casaubon, 30 September 1605 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 181–184). They were published in 1607: *Florilegium Epigrammatum Martialis. Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caesaris f. vertit Graece ad Isaacium Casaubonium*, Paris, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1607.

34 *Iosephi Scaligeri Iul. Caes. f. Poemata omnia, ex museio Petri Scriverii*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1615. This was reprinted in the nineteenth century, and the Greek versions of Martial are in Scaliger, *Poemata omnia*, Berlin, 1864, pp. 163–213.

35 A catalogue of the sale included items certainly or probably connected with the lost edition: 'Ἀνθολόγια ἐπιγραμμάτων Μαρτιαλίς per Ioh. Scaligerum typ. Plantin. 1603' (*Bibliotheca Scriveriana*, Amsterdam, 1663, sig. G3r, no. 35); 'Martialis varie manu notatus'; 'Idem per P. Scriverium'; 'Eiusdem notae ad Martialem typ. Plantin 1603' (ibid., sig. M3v, nos 219–221); 'Martiales varii per varios variae impressionis' (ibid., sig. N2v, no. 89). Only the first of these is among the bound books, and only two of the five items are dated. An appendix of miscellaneous items includes two: 'Ioh. Schaligeri [*sic*] Florilegium Epigrammatum Mar-

some of these notes are likely to survive, as yet unidentified. Today there is a forlorn relic of the lost edition in the British Library, a single sheet, a draft in Scriverius' own hand of the opening lines of the preface to this lost edition. The preface would have been printed last, alongside the commendatory verses of Elias Putschius and Gottfried Jungermann which he had solicited, and it is plausible that when Scriverius took his pen from this piece of paper, the edition finally foundered.[36]

Thomson had spent a great deal of time with the text of Martial over the previous decade, and in 1602 or 1603 he was among those called upon to supplement Scriverius' edition. The materials he sent from England have not come to light, but they evidently included variant readings from at least two important continental manuscripts, a number of his own conjectural emendations, and a small collection of epigrams which he acknowledged to be spurious. Thomson had made a collation of a manuscript in the Palatine Library during his time in Heidelberg in 1592–1593, and he was probably referring to this collation when in 1594 he informed Casaubon that he had notes on the poet.[37] During his

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tialis Graecum propria eius manu exaratum' (ibid., sig. A1v, no. 23); 'Varii Martiales, 6 fascic. distincti, quorum 4. M.S. not. egregie sunt illustrati per varios illustres viros ut P. Scr. Scal. Dous. Hei.' (ibid., sig. A4v, no. 17). Among Scriverius' manuscripts are three worth recording: 'Ios. Scaligeri diatribe, qua Theodori Marcili commentarius notaeque in Martialem expunguntur' (sig. B2r, no. 20); 'Martialis Raderi, cuius non solum margines plenae sunt annotationum Scriverii, sed et insertae eiusdem schedae plurimae, in quibus explicatur et emendatur Martialis' (ibid., sig. B2r, no. 43); 'Variae schedae P. Scriverii in quibus annotationes in Martialem aliosque scriptores. Item. Hadriani Iunii et Theod. Pulmanni notae ad Martialem aliosque scriptores. Huius fronti inscripsit P. Scriverius' (sig. B1v, no. 92). In 1977 Tuynman promised a discussion of the printed items bearing the year 1603, but this discussion never appeared (P. Tuynman, 'Petrus Scriverius 12 January 1576–30 April 1660', *Quaerendo*, 7, 1977, pp. 4–45, p. 25).

36 In the same manuscript as [c. 1604?] oo oo, from Scriverius, are notes in Scriverius' hand on Martial, and the beginning of a draft of the preface to the reader: 'In auctore hoc perpurgando, amice lector, pluribus libris qua ~~scriptis~~ \manu exaratis/ qua ~~cusis~~ \typis editis/ usi sumus. Communicavit Scaliger optimas optimi codicis lectiones. \~~notae admodum bene~~/ et perlibenter ad nos misit ~~Richar~~ Martialem ~~suum~~ quem in Italia \[sua?]/ ~~et Germania~~ aliisque peregrinationibus ad manuscriptos contulerit' (London, British Library, Harley, 3417, fol. 140^{r}). It goes on to mention Merula and Janus Dousa senior. Scaliger, who died early in 1609, is spoken of as alive. The terms in which Scriverius refers to Dousa suggests that he is dead (d. 8 October 1604). Thus this fragment is dated 1604–1608.

37 For Thomson's time in Heidelberg with Gruter, see chapter 6, 'Germany, May 1592–April 1593'. The fifteenth-century manuscript which Thomson consulted (Schneidewin's P) is now in Rome: Rome, Vatican, Pal. Lat. 1696. Gruter subsequently discovered that Thom-

time in Italy, Thomson had also recorded the readings of a manuscript of Martial in Florence, and this is probably the work on Martial which is mentioned in letters between Thomson and Casaubon in the spring of 1597.[38] Thomson seems to have written these variants in the margins of an edition of Martial's epigrams, as yet unidentified, which he sent to Scriverius in 1603.[39] The margins of this book seem to have included a few conjectures of his own.[40] Scriverius printed Thomson's spurious epigrams in an appendix in his lost edition, and subsequently had them published after Thomson's death as an appendix in his edition of 1618–1619.[41]

Thomson's contribution to the lost edition, then, seems to have been significant. When Gruter began to suspect that Scriverius' edition would never be published, he asked him to send Thomson's *variae lectiones* to him in Ger-

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son's notes on this manuscript were not accurate, and so added an appendix to his commentary: see below. Thomson wrote to Casaubon on 30 May 1594: 'In Martialem, tibi scribo, habeo non plane reicula quaedam' (p. 183).

38 Casaubon to Thomson, 19 March 1597; Thomson to Casaubon, 10 April 1597. The Florentine manuscript (Schneidewin's f) seems to have been Florence, Laurentianus 35.39, written in the fifteenth century by Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (1434–1514).

39 Thomson to Scriverius, 1 June 1603: 'Scilicet nugae illae ad Martialem tanti erant ut earum gratia me tam erudita et amica epistola convenires .... Si quae tibi probantur in Martiale meo, iis utaris, abutaris pro arbitratu, imo libidine, tua ...' (pp. 281–282). Thomson wrote the readings gathered in Germany and Italy in the margins of a printed edition of Martial, and this is 'Martialis meus'. It was probably this book, 'Martialis meus', which Gruter had before him in 1616: see this chapter, note 44.

40 Scriverius' later commentary has at least six echoes of Thomson's notes. Martial, book I, epig. 109, l. 21: Scriverius' language suggests that Thomson had conjectured the reading 'Issam' for 'Ipsam' ('ita divinaverat literatissimus Richardus Thomsonus'), although Scriverius notes that the reading has manuscript support; book IV, epig. 29, l. 9: 'Coniecturam elegantissimi viri Richardi Thomsoni, notatam in ora codicis sui, quod mire nobis placeret, textui immisimus ...'; book V, epig. 19, ll. 17–18: 'Venuste mehercule atque argute ms. quem contulit Richardus Thomsonus'; book IX, epig. 90, l. 5: 'Palatini codicis scriptura haec comprobatur auctoritate codicis Florentini quo Richardus Thomsonius est usus: cuius doctissimi et integerrimi (heu quondam!) viri fide haec narro'; book IX, epig. 101, l. 7: 'Florentinus Thompsonii'; book XI, epig. 50 (49), l. 3: 'Florentinus Thompsonii' (*M. Val. Martialis nova editio. Ex Museo Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, apud Ioannem Maire, 1618–1619, part 3, pp. 65, 114, 132, 211, 214, 263).

41 Scriverius describes them as 'epigrammata, partim ex manuscriptis, partim ex glossariis aliisque veteribus libris descripta. Quorum magnam partem nobiscum communicavit humanissimus Richardus Thomson Anglus' (*M. Val. Martialis nova editio. Ex Museo Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, apud Ioannem Maire, 1618–1619, part 1, p. 308).

many.[42] Gruter pressed his request for Thomson's notes in March 1604, though he professed to have a very low opinion of their value.[43] Scriverius did not send these notes, and Gruter asked for them again in October.[44] Still Scriverius held on to them, protesting that they would tell Gruter nothing he did not already know.[45] Both scholars, among the foremost contemporary students of Martial, are reluctant to praise Thomson's work, yet eager to have it.

In the spring of 1613, a few months after Thomson's death in England, Ben Jonson visited Leiden.[46] There he was able, through the intervention of Daniel Heinsius, to consult Scriverius' unpublished edition of Martial, and Jonson's Dutch hosts appear to have acknowledged Thomson's role in the project. When Jonson returned to England in the summer of the same year, he transmitted some of Scriverius' emendations to Thomas Farnaby.[47] Farnaby was at that date preparing Martial for the press in London, a modestly conceived edition, but nevertheless the first edition of the poet ever printed in England. When it was complete in 1615, Farnaby dedicated it to Sir Robert Killigrew, not-

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42 Scaliger wrote to Scriverius: 'Mitto ad te, mi Scriveri, epistolam communis utriusque nostrum amici optimi viri I. Gruteri, qui non solum expostulat tecum moram editionis Martialis—quam certe excusare non potes—sed etiam, quia putat tibi constitutum esse eam premere, a te rem iustissimam, lectiones varias codicis Thomsoniani exigit. Si publicationem Martialis nobis negare potes, hoc tamen amicitiae non potes' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 522–523).

43 Gruter to Scriverius, 24 March [1604]: 'De cura tua et fide circa Martialem, plurimum te amo, plurimum tibi debeo. Quicquid excusi erit, transmittes spero per mercatores tempore nundinarum Francfurti, ubi et nos, si salus permiserit, erimus. Si addideris Thompsoniana omnia, rem feceris maxime gratam: ex stercore illo eruam forte aliquid auri, aut certe excoquam' (Leiden, University Library, Pap. 15).

44 Gruter to Scriverius, 23 October [1604]: 'Martialis tuus, vel iam meus, longi etiam videtur factus subsellii. Si mihi subministrasses, ut petebam, Tompsonis excerpta, centum adhuc loca vobis restituissem, quos nunc cubant in morbo; quamvis tu forsan ea sanare potuisti' (Leiden, University Library, Pap. 15).

45 Scriverius to Gruter, [Early 1605?]: 'In excerptis Thomsonis multa bona sunt, sed haec omnia a te occupata' (draft in Leiden, University Library, Pap. 15).

46 For the visit, see D. Riggs, *Ben Jonson: A Life*, Cambridge, MA, and London, 1989, p. 191.

47 'Ille [Jonson] … mihi emendationes aliquot suppeditavit ex clarissimi viri Scriverii Martiale (cuius copia illi facta Lugduni Batavorum a viro non sine doctrinae et humanitatis honorifica praefatione nominando Daniele Heinsio), quaedam insuper epigrammata acutius quam vulgo intellecta (quae refert accepta memoriae doctissimi viri Richardi Thomsonii), ut et alia suo ingenio feliciter excussa' (T. Farnaby, ed. *M. Val. Martialis epigrammatΩn libri. Animadversi, emendati et commentariolis luculenter explicati*, London, excudebat Felix Kingstonius impensis Gulielmi Welby, 1615, *Ad lectorem*, sigs A4$^{r–v}$). I have not found the names of Thomson or Scriverius in the commentary to this edition.

ing that Thomson, a great interpreter of Martial, had lived under Killigrew's patronage.[48] Farnaby, at least, seems to have known Thomson personally, and Jonson as a keen student of Martial's epigrams may well have known him too.

Gruter remained in contact with Thomson until the latter's death in 1613. Thomson's letter to him announcing the discovery of a manuscript of Ivo of Chartres has already been noticed.[49] A few years later, around 1610, Thomson informed Gruter of a collection of English proverbs belonging to the Bishop of Ely, Lancelot Andrewes.[50] These were duly sent to Germany by Camden, and a grateful Gruter had them printed immediately.[51] In letters of 1611 and 1612, Gruter asked Camden to pass on his regards to Thomson.[52] Gruter eventually acquired the volume which contained Thomson's collation of the Heidelberg manuscript: Scriverius must have sent it on to him after all, perhaps after Thomson's death, and certainly by 1616. However, when Gruter compared it with the manuscript itself he found inaccuracies and felt compelled to re-collate the

48 '… magna … Martialis lux Richardus Thomsonius. Thomsonius, nomen memoriae, vobis qui Musas fovetis, gratae; nobis qui Musas colimus, sacrae' (ibid., sigs A2r).

49 See chapter 18, 'Richard Mountague', pp. 78–79.

50 Gruter to Camden, September 1610: 'si tua industria impetrare possem ab reverendissimo viro episcopo Eliensi grandem illum numerum vetustissimorum proverbiorum veterum Brittanorum, una cum interpretatione vernacula, rem faceres animo meo acceptissimam. … Illorum mihi modo indicium facit dominus Richardus Thomsonus' (Camden, *Epistolae*, 1691, no. 91, p. 133).

51 Gruter, ed. *Florilegii ethico-politici nunquam antehac editi pars altera, procurante Iano Grutero. Accedunt gnomae paroemiaeque Graecorum, item proverbia Germanica, Belgica, Britannica, Italica, Gallica*, Frankfurt, in bibliopolio Ionae Rhodii, 1611, pp. 172–188. In the index to the volume, these are described as [Proverbia] 'Britannica transmissa mihi ab viro et amico aurei saeculi, hoc est, morum antiquorum'. The friend is Camden: 'Britannica Adagia mecum communicavit Camdenus' (Gruter to Vulcanius, 23 September 1610, Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105:2, no. 13). The accounts of the origins of these proverbs in Taylor and Whiting are incorrect (A. Taylor, 'Proverbia Britannica', *Washington University Studies*, *Humanistic Series*, 11, 1924, pp. 409–423; B.J. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases: From English Writings Mainly before 1500*, Cambridge, M.A., 1968, p. xiii, n. 9). Thomson's role is not mentioned in the account in R.D. Dunn, ed. *William Camden: Remaines Concerning Britain*, Toronto, 1984, pp. 462–464.

52 Easter 1611, 21 September 1611, 20 September 1612 (Camden, *Epistolae*, 1691, no. 94, p. 135; no. 98, p. 138; London, British Library, Cotton, Julius C V, fols 117^{r} and 126^{r}). See also Gruter's letter to Casaubon, 13 April 1612, in which he asks Casaubon to consult English scholars, including Thomson, about ancient inscriptions (London, British Library, Burney 364, fol. 212^{r}).

manuscript in its entirety.[53] Gruter's critical comments on Thomson's accuracy, printed in an edition which became the standard text for the rest of the century, have cast a shadow over Thomson's reputation as a scholar.

53 Gruter to Scriverius, 8 November 1616: '… ut haerebam in aliquo loco, ideoque consulebam manuscriptum Palatinum, eumque invenio discrepantem a manu prima descriptore Richardo Thomsonio, subitus invasit ecce me furor, totumque iterum a capite ad calcem percurri' (*M. Val. Martialis nova editio. Ex Museo Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, apud Ioannem Maire, 1618–1619, part 3, p. 103); 'Imposuit mihi manus Richardi Thomsonii. Cum enim adscripsisset ad oram Martialis mei extare istud in Palatino, secutus eius fidem expunxi lectionem hactenus receptam. Verum ut iam meis oculis credo, reperi plane in manuscripto illo …' (ibid., part 3, p. 111); 'At heic etiam me decepit scriptura Thomsonii …' (ibid.).

CHAPTER 23

Thomson's Hebrew

Thomson was evidently regarded by his contemporaries as a thoroughly competent Hebraist, for he was nominated in 1604 as one of the translators of the Pentateuch for King James' new English Bible. Where he acquired his knowledge of the language is unclear, but he probably began his studies in Cambridge in the 1580s under Edward Lively, and continued them under Franciscus Raphelengius at Leiden some time during the years 1588–1591.[1] He must have learned still more from Jacob Christmann, a converted Jew, during his six-month stay in Christmann's house in Heidelberg in 1592–1593.[2] There is a good chance that he learned a little more during his time in Geneva in 1593 with Pierre Chevalier, Isaac Casaubon's teacher.[3]

Thomson no doubt also learned something from the eminent Hebrew scholar Johannes Drusius. Drusius had studied in Cambridge as a young man, and he became professor of oriental languages at Oxford in 1572. It was during this period that Lively studied the language under Drusius in Cambridge.[4] Lively became Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge in 1575, and when Drusius returned to the Low Countries the following year, the two men remained in touch.[5] In a letter to Thomson written around 1594, Drusius calls Lively a mutual friend.[6] Thomson, as we have seen, matriculated at Franeker where Drusius was Rector in 1593.[7] After Thomson left Franeker, he had informed Drusius of the publication in Venice of the Targum to the Pentateuch, a work attributed to Jonathan ben Uziel.[8] If Thomson's words mean that he had ac-

1 For the former, see G. Lloyd Jones, 'Lively, Edward (c. 1545–1605)', ODNB, 2004, 34, pp. 47–49; for the latter, see A.J. van der Aa, ed. *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 12 vols, Haarlem, 1852–1878, 10, pp. 22–23.

2 For Thomson's time with Christmann, see chapter 6, 'Germany, May 1592–April 1593'.

3 For Thomson's connections with Chevalier, see chapter 7, 'Geneva, April–August 1593', p. 25. For Chevalier's approach, see A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, *"I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue" Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*, Cambridge, MA, and London, 2011, pp. 87, 311–312.

4 Cooper and Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1858–1861, 2, p. 407.

5 Two undated letters from Drusius to Lively are printed in Drusius, *De quaesitis per epistolam*, [Franeker], apud Aegidium Radaeum, 1595, no. 65, pp. 125–128; no. 84, pp. 155–158.

6 The second undated letter from Drusius to Thomson, p. 171.

7 For his time in Franeker, see chapter 9, 'Leiden, December 1593–May 1594', p. 29.

8 See the first undated letter from Drusius to Thomson, p. 169. The work in question is

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quired the volumes, they would certainly have been useful for his later work as a translator of the Pentateuch. Drusius subsequently published two letters on Hebrew scholarship addressed to Thomson which appear to have been extracted from a genuine correspondence between the two men.[9]

Thomson seems never to have met Drusius again after he left Franeker in 1593, but he maintained contact with him for many years. Drusius' son, also called Johannes, a precocious Hebraist in his own right, travelled to England in 1605, where he was admitted to the Bodleian Library on 19 July 1605.[10] A few days after this event, Thomson wrote from Cambridge to Dominicus Baudius in Leiden that he had received Baudius' letter and a package from Drusius *pater*.[11] It is likely that the letter and the package were brought to England by Drusius *filius* and delivered to Thomson in person in Cambridge. The contents of the package are not specified, but it doubtless included one or more of Drusius' most recent publications. In particular, it may be supposed to have contained a work published a few weeks earlier in April 1605, Drusius' reply to the Jesuit controversialist Nicolaus Serarius, with Scaliger's *Elenchus* appended.[12] Thomson wrote in July that he had read this latter work with great enthusiasm.[13] Thomson's copy of it would thus have been among the earliest to reach England.

Thomson also provided Scaliger with another source for rare Hebrew books. From a letter of 1601, it seems that Thomson has sent Scaliger a Hebrew text of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*.[14] Scaliger in return sent Thomson a list of Hebrew books he lacked, in the hope that Thomson would be able to buy them from a collection which had recently been put up for sale.[15] The owner of this collection is not mentioned by Scaliger, but the books in question may well

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Pseudo-Jonathan ben Uziel, Targum to the Pentateuch, 3 vols, [Venice, Bragadin, 1590–1591].

9 The two letters are edited in the second part of the present book, pp. 168–172.

10 See Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, 1887, p. 265.

11 Thomson to Baudius, 27 July 1605 (p. 294).

12 *I. Drusii responsio ad Serarium de tribus sectis Iudaeorum. Accessit I. Scaligeri Elenchus Trihaeresii N. Serarii*, Franeker, 1605. For the composition and publication of both works, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 371–373, 588–590.

13 Thomson to Baudius, 27 July 1605: 'Ego illum libellum necdum ex manibus deposui, etiamsi aliquoties perlegerim' (p. 295).

14 Thomson may have sent Scaliger the Hebrew text printed in Venice in 1551, which is among the books Scaliger bequeathed to Leiden University Library. See Daniel Heinsius, *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Lugdunensis*, [Leiden, 1612], p. 79: 'More hannevochin. prima editio. Venetiis'; 'More hannevochin. Cum Commentariis'.

15 See Scaliger to Thomson, 23 August 1601 (pp. 261–264).

have belonged to Richard Hooker, the only eminent English Hebraist who had died recently, and the owner of a very fine library.[16] Scaliger worried that he had missed his chance to acquire the best books from this collection, but Thomson sent two unidentified Hebrew volumes to Scaliger via Denis Perrot before the end of the year.[17] Both books appear to have been acquired from this sale, and they may thus form an indirect link between Scaliger and Hooker. Thomson was still trying to secure Hebrew books for Scaliger in 1603.[18] Scaliger received a copy of Josippon from Thomson, and he noted that it seemed to be easier to find Italian *Hebraica* in England than in Italy.[19]

Thomson's reading of Casaubon's work on Athenaeus of Naucratis has already been discussed, but it is worth revisiting here for what it tells us of Thomson's engagement with Hebrew scholarship. Some of Thomson's marginal observations are not sophisticated. For example, he notes in his copy of Casaubon's Athenaeus that the Greek word for wine οἶνος derives from the Hebrew word יין;[20] and when Athenaeus discusses why some among the ancients preferred not to eat the brain, Thomson immediately thinks of the Jewish custom of not eating blood, 'because it was thought that it contained the spirit'.[21] Neither of these marginal notes suggests profound Hebrew learning. However, Thomson can also engage with Hebrew in complex and surprising ways. In his copy of Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus, he paid particular attention to Casaubon's discussion of the use of the stirrup in the ancient world. Thomson wrote in the margin: 'The Rabbis call it משוורתא, "mishawarta", and they say that it is a טבעת, an iron ring'.[22] For this note, Thomson had consulted the *Sefer Arukh*, a dictionary of Talmudic and Midrashic vocabulary compiled in

16 Hooker died at Bishopsbourne in Kent on 2 November 1600, and his library was valued at £300 immediately before its sale (R. Keen, 'Inventory of Richard Hooker, 1601', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 70, 1956, pp. 231–237). The books were no doubt put up for sale in London.

17 See Thomson to Perrot, 8 December 1601 (pp. 264–265).

18 See Thomson to Scaliger, 7 March 1603 (pp. 279–280).

19 See Scaliger to Thomson, 25 November [1604?] (pp. 289–293).

20 'οἶνος unde dictum. Sed nugantur Graeculi. Origo Hebraica est. יין Iain. unde et Latinis vinum' (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, p. 35, in Exeter Cathedral Library).

21 'Sic Hebraei non edebant sanguinem, quia anima in eo putabatur contineri' (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, p. 84, in Exeter Cathedral Library).

22 'Vocant Rabbini illa משוורתא, "mishawarta", aiuntque esse טבעת Annulum ferreum. Vid. Aruch.' (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, p. 283, in Exeter Cathedral Library).

the eleventh century by Nathan ben Jehiel.[23] It is likely that he owned a copy of this work, but it has not been identified.

Other Hebrew marginalia in Thomson's books suggest not so much deep learning as a certain exploratory thoughtfulness about what the Hebrew words mean. Two examples illustrate this way of thinking about the Hebrew text. The first comes from Thomson's copy of the early Christian works of Arnobius and Minutius Felix, a book which seems to have been given to him by Henry Savile.[24] Thomson's name does not appear in the volume, but notes in his hand are interspersed among, and buried by, the more extensive annotations of its later owner Matthew Wren. Next to the passage on the bloody castration of Acdestis, Thomson writes: 'in the history of Joshua they call them צוּרִים חַרְבוֹת, that is "stony swords" with which the Jews circumcise themselves'.[25] A second example of this exploratory mode comes from Thomson's copy of Casaubon's Suetonius of 1610. This volume survives in the British Library, inscribed to Thomson on its title page by Casaubon.[26] Since printing of this edition had been completed just weeks before Casaubon left France for his final home in England, he may well have brought copies with him as gifts for his new hosts.[27]

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23 'טַבַּעַת est anulus, circulus, ut in lorica. Item, foramen podicis' (Sebastian Munster, *Dictionarium Chaldaicum, non tam ad Chaldaicos interpretes quam Rabbinorum intelligenda commentaria necessarium*, Basle, John Froben, 1527, p. 162). The word משוורתא is found (under the root שוור) in, for example, the edition of the *Sefer Arukh* printed in Pesaro, 1517, fol. 163^{r}. It denotes a suspended metal ring, and the discussion in the *Arukh* notes a game played by Babylonian boys during the festival of Purim, swinging a ring through a bonfire. I am grateful to Theodor Dunkelgrün for this reference. Thomson may have consulted the edition printed in Venice in 1553, which has cross-references to the folios of the printed Talmud.

24 *Arnobii Disputationum adversus gentes libri septem. M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*, Rome, ex typographia Dominici Basae, 1563. Cambridge, Trinity College, shelfmark Adv.d.1.8. A note on the verso of the title page in Thomson's hand reads: 'Nobilissimi et doctisssimi Henrici Savilii φίλιον.' For this volume, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 6.

25 'Scilicet Samiam. In Iosuae historia צוּרִים חַרְבוֹת apellant, q. d. gladii saxei, quibus praeputia praecidebant sibi Iudaei' (*Arnobii Disputationum adversus gentes libri septem. M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*, Rome, ex typographia Dominici Basae, 1583, p. 134, copy in Cambridge, Trinity College). The reference is to Joshua 5.2 and 5.3; Arnobius, *Adversus gentes*, v.6. The Hebrew phrase was discussed by many rabbinic and Christian commentators.

26 *C. Suetonii Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus libri VIII. Eiusdem De inlustribus grammaticis et De claris rhetoribus* Paris, apud Sebastianum Cramoysi, 1610, British Library, shelfmark 1486.gg.2.

27 This edition was printed by 7 July 1610: see Casaubon's letter to Salmasius of that date (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 676, p. 353). The edition contains a confusingly dated

In his commentary on Suetonius' life of Julius Caesar, Casaubon recounts how the Roman Emperor Valentinian released his pet bear into the wild, a reward for its diligent service and good behaviour.[28] When Thomson was reading this passage, he paused and wrote in the margin a note containing two Hebrew words, אַיָּלָה שְׁלֻחָה. The words are part of Jacob's dying blessing of his son Naphtali at the end of the book of Genesis, a text Thomson had recently helped translate for the King's new Bible. They mean 'a hind let loose', but their application to Naphtali is mysterious.[29] Thomson appears to be using Casaubon's commentary to think about what these words might mean.

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set of privileges, but the one following the index to the main text is dated 3 August 1610, in the 22nd year of Henri's reign. Casaubon left Paris in October 1610.

28 Casaubon, commentary on *Julius Caesar*, 81: 'Valentinianus imperator Innocentiam ursam qua diu fuerit oblectatus, tandem ut bene meritam in sylvas abire dimisit innoxiam' (*C. Suetonii Tranquilli de XII Caesaribus libri VIII*, Paris, S. Cramoisy, 1610, p. 14). Casaubon took the story from Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIX.3.9.

29 Thomson's marginal note reads: 'Genes. XLIX.21. אילה שלוחה de Nephtali. etsi alii aliter'. The King James Bible translation reads: 'Naphtali is a hinde let loose'. For this passage, and for Thomson's role as a translator of the Old Testament, see Botley, 'Three Very Different Translators: Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon and Richard Thomson', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 41, 2014, pp. 477–491.

CHAPTER 24

Bringing Casaubon to England, 1607–1610

Casaubon did not come to England until the autumn of 1610, but efforts to attract him had begun several years earlier. We have seen that Thomson was behind efforts to bring Casaubon to Leiden in 1594; as Casaubon's closest friend in England, Thomson also laid the foundations for his move to London. Thomson's intervention seems to have begun in 1607, eight years after he had returned from his continental travels.[1]

In the early months of 1607, Casaubon was in Paris working on a theological treatise, *De libertate ecclesiastica*. This was to be his first substantial public contribution to church affairs. Previously he had been unable to write on such matters, but in 1607 this new contribution was licensed by Henri IV's support for the Republic of Venice against the Pope. When the Pope and Venice settled their differences in April 1607, Casaubon's book was suppressed. The circumstances of its suppression and the printing of what survives of the work are unclear, though he was apparently still at work on it in mid-April 1607.[2] It is likely that he never finished the treatise. We may guess that Casaubon found the requirement to abandon his work frustrating, but there is little evidence of this frustration in his surviving correspondence, and the relevant portion of his diary for the first half of 1607 is lost.[3] The completed portion of this book was printed the same year, and a copy came into the hands of King James just as he was searching for allies in his own battle with the Papacy over the oath of allegiance.

The King received his copy via Thomson. Casaubon sent Thomson a copy of *De libertate ecclesiastica* in 1607. Thomson spoke of it enthusiastically in his reply to Casaubon; it is clear that he had shown it to several eminent English churchmen, who were urging Casaubon, through Thomson, to com-

1 Pattison argued that Daniel Heinsius' jealousy thwarted attempts to bring Casaubon to Leiden in 1610: Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 256–258. Sellin refutes the claim: P.R. Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England*, Leiden and London, 1968, p. 78.

2 He wrote cautiously to Heinsius on 17 April: 'Utinam Polybio meo parem felicitatem spondere possem! Multa vetant; ne de aliis dicam, hoc vere affirmo tibi: in aliis studiis nos esse iampridem; coacti enim sumus a magnis viris ad tempus curare alia. Ea quae sint, postea intelliges, σὺν τῷ Θεῷ' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 551, p. 288).

3 He wrote to Henri IV on 8 June 1607 expressing his concerns that his project, and his life, have been slandered (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 557, p. 291).

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plete it.[4] One of these men must have been the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft, for Thomson had passed his unbound copy on to Bancroft in 1608, and the Archbishop himself showed it to the King.[5] Thomson seems to have written a detailed letter on the subject of a move to England in the early months of 1608.[6] The letter is lost, and it may have been destroyed by its ever-cautious recipient.

By the end of 1608, Thomson had realised that he would never get his copy of Casaubon's book back from the Archbishop, and so he wrote to Casaubon asking for another.[7] It is thus very likely that the Archbishop kept Thomson's original copy of the book, and consequently that the copy today in Lambeth Palace Library, bearing the gold-tooled arms of Archbishop Bancroft on the binding, once belonged to Thomson. That Casaubon's book played a crucial part in bringing its author to England in 1610 has long been known, but Thomson's role in bringing it to the King's attention has been overlooked.

Another overlooked episode shows further connections between Cambridge scholars and Casaubon. In the autumn of 1609, Casaubon was joined in Paris by three Englishmen: Thomas Tomkis, Nathaniel Taylor and an otherwise unidentified man named Cooke. Tomkis and Taylor were fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Tomkis is best known as the author of two successful English comedies.[8] By the end of the year, Taylor had returned to Cambridge, but the other two men remained in Paris, and Tomkis was still there in January 1610. At that date he wrote a letter to Cambridge concerning the intense pressure which was being placed on Casaubon to convert:

> Mr Casaubon is dayly tormented with tempters from the Kinge to chainge his religion: augmentation of pension, preferring of his children, honor,

4 See Thomson to Casaubon, 13 December 1607 (pp. 324–327).

5 See Thomson to Casaubon, 7 July 1608 (pp. 335–337).

6 Thomson to Casaubon, 15 April 1608: 'Ego nuper prolixius tecum egi super hoc ipso negocio; quid responderis valde aveo scire ex tuis iis quas a domino legato expecto' (p. 328).

7 Thomson to Casaubon, 31 December [1608] (pp. 338–340).

8 Tomkis matriculated in Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1597, took his B.A. in 1600, and his M.A. in 1604. He was a fellow of the college from 1602. His visit to Paris is recorded in a letter written from Taylor in Cambridge to Casaubon on 30 December 1609: 'Hospites quos abiens tecum reliqui, dominum Cooke et magistrum Tomkys, salutes (quaeso) meo nomine …' (London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 217$^{r–v}$). Tomkis is mentioned again in Thomson to Casaubon, 18 November 1611, at which date he appears to have been in London (pp. 352–354). For Tomkis' university career, see Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1922–1927, 4, p. 248; for Taylor's, see ibid., p. 207.

> plate, and many other benefitts are profered to him; but he most manfully forsakes all, and remaines unmoveable.[9]

The recipient of Tomkis' letter is not identified in the manuscript, but there are good reasons for believing that it was addressed to Thomson.[10] It is likely that Thomson was responsible for coordinating this English mission to the beleaguered Casaubon.

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9 Tomkis to [Thomson], 20 January [1610] (p. 349).

10 For the likelihood that it is addressed to Thomson, see Tomkis to [Thomson], 20 January [1610], headnotes (pp. 348–349). The letter, and Tomkis' visit to Paris, were unknown to Tomkis' best modern biographer: H.G. Dick, ed. *Albumazar: A Comedy* [*1615*] *by Thomas Tomkis*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944, pp. 1–16. The biography of Tomkis in ODNB, 2004, is incomplete and makes no use of Dick's edition.

CHAPTER 25

Thomson's *Elenchus*, 1611

Although Thomson had spent many years gathering notes and manuscripts, he had published nothing at all since the youthful *Responsio* of 1587. In 1611 this long silence was broken, when he published a theological treatise. The context of this work goes back to 1606, when King James instituted an oath of allegiance in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot. The oath specifically denied that the Pope had the right to depose a monarch, or incite his subjects to depose him. It became the subject of an international controversy in 1607 when the King's treatise on the oath was published anonymously.[1] This work was intended to speak loudly to a European audience, and to this end it was published in English, Latin and French. Such a high-profile statement could not go unchallenged, and the King's work was attacked in print by Catholics, including one of the Roman church's greatest apologists, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, writing under the transparent pseudonym of 'Matthaeus Tortus'.[2] The English church was mobilised in support of the King's position, and before the end of the summer of 1609 Lancelot Andrewes had published a lengthy response to Bellarmine's work.[3] Thomson was well aware of this debate, and in 1611 he would involve himself in it publicly.

Thomson may well have sent a copy of the King's treatise on the oath to Casaubon in Paris soon after its publication. Certainly Casaubon wrote to Thomson in July 1609 that he thought well of the work.[4] There is every chance that this letter from Casaubon, now lost, ended up in the hands of the

1 *Triplici Nodo, Triplex Cuneus; or, an Apologie for the oath of Allegiance, against the two breves of Pope Paul v, and the late letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwel the Archpriest*, London, Robert Barker, 1607. It was later greatly expanded with a *Praefatio monitoria*.

2 *Matthaei Torti presbyteri, et theologi Papiensis Responsio ad librum inscriptum, Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus, sive Apologia pro iuramento fidelitatis: adversis duo brevia Papae Pauli v et recentes litteras Cardinalis Bellarmini ad Georgium Blacuellum Angliae Archipresbyterum*, [no place], 1608.

3 Andrewes, *Tortura Torti: sive, Ad Matthaei Torti librum responsio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam serenissimi potentissimique principis, Iacobi, Dei gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Regis, pro Iuramento fidelitatis*, London, Robert Barker, 1609. For the controversy, see S. Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 117–158.

4 Casaubon's letter, dated 10 July 1609, has not survived, but something of its contents may be gathered from the reply, Thomson to Casaubon, 5 August 1609 (pp. 340–342).

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Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft. During the negotiations to bring Casaubon to England, Thomson's correspondence with him was coordinated by the Archbishop. Thomson sent to Casaubon a copy of Andrewes' riposte in August 1609, and asked Casaubon to inform him of current opinions about it in Paris.[5] When Casaubon finally arrived in England in the autumn of 1610, it was in order to supply intellectual support for the King's religious position, to speak to a European audience on behalf of the English church. Since Thomson was composing, or at least contemplating, his own contribution to the debate when Casaubon arrived in England, we may suppose that he talked about it with his old friend.

In the autumn of 1610, the Flemish Jesuit Martinus Becanus published a work against Andrewes' book.[6] It was against Becanus' *Refutatio* that Thomson took up his pen, with a new work under the title *Elenchus refutationis Torturae Torti*. The controversy had become densely stratified by this date and beneath this title lay an examination of Becanus' refutation of Andrewes' refutation of Bellarmine's refutation of James' *Apologia*. Thomson wrote this contribution to the debate because of his closeness to Andrewes, in order to ingratiate himself with the church authorities, and because he believed what he said. Casaubon's relocation to England shows how keenly the King wanted good theologians to defend his position on the international stage, and Thomson's book was printed by Robert Barker, the King's printer. However, Thomson may also have been hoping that his treatise would help distance him from an embarrassing connection he had previously formed with one of the Catholic participants in this debate. Leonard Coqueau, an Augustinian theologian, also published a lengthy and forthright commentary on James' *Apologia* in 1610. Thomson had given Coqueau a manuscript of Stobaeus, apparently in Florence around 1598, and may have been mortified by this earlier friendship.[7]

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5 It was sent with Thomson to Casaubon, 5 August 1609 (pp. 340–342).

6 Becanus, *Refutatio Torturae torti seu contra Sacellannm* [*sic*] *Regis Angliae, quod causam sui Regis negligenter egerit*, Mainz, typis Ioannis Albini, 1610. The work is not more precisely dated, but appears in the catalogue of the autumn bookfair at Frankfurt: *Catalogus novus nundinarum autumnalium, Francofurti ad Moenum anno MDCX celebratarum*, Augsburg, David Franken, 1610, sig. B3r: 'Examen Plagae Regiae, authore R.P. Martino Becano'. For the relationship between Becanus' work and that of Bellarmine, see S. Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 211–260.

7 *Examen praefationis monitoriae Iacobi I Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae Regis, praemissae Apologiae suae pro iuramento fidelitatis expresso nomine ipsius authoris denuo editae .... In quo examine refellitur et Apologia ipsa Regis et summi pontificis brevia ad Catholicos Anglos defenduntur*, Freiburg im Breisgau, apud Ioannem Strasserum, 1610. For Coqueau (d. 1616), see

Thomson dedicated the new work to Sir Thomas Jermyn. Jermyn had been a younger contemporary of Thomson's at Cambridge in the 1580s, and in the 1590s he fought with the Earl of Essex against Spain and in Ireland. Early in 1600, shortly after Thomson's return to England, Jermyn allied himself to the Killigrew family by marrying Catherine, daughter of Henry Killigrew of Hanworth, Middlesex. Under King James, Jermyn entered Parliament, becoming MP for Andover in 1604.[8] Thomson's preface to Jermyn is dated June 1611, which supplies an approximate date for the publication of the treatise.[9]

Thomson divides his treatise into five parts. The first part is introductory, while the remaining four correspond to the divisions in Becanus' *Refutatio*.[10] Thomson's treatment of his adversary's work is systematic but not exhaustive: Becanus' tract of 67 pages is refuted by Thomson in 104, and every part of the former is given some space in the latter. The proportions of Thomson's riposte, however, are worth noting. Andrewes had accused Bellarmine of resorting to abusive language to make his case; Becanus in turn identified abusive turns of phrase in Andrewes' work. Thomson's second chapter deals at length with these *convicia*, even though they formed only a small element of Becanus' book.[11] The precise nature of Thomson's arguments matters less than his concern to show that the protestant party has a clear grasp of the decorum of theological controversy. As is often the case in such works, the tone of the debate is a central component of the debate. Thomson's tone throughout is hectoring, but he does try to avoid abusive language. His is not, however, a work which aims to persuade Becanus to abandon his positions: its persuasive force is directed outwards at its readers, inviting them to condemn Becanus.

D. Gutiérrez, 'Leonardo Coqueau O.S.A. y su biblioteca en el año 1602', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 38, 1975, pp. 5–62; A. Pontani, 'L'epistolario greco di Léonard Coqueau O.S.A.', *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia*, 18, 1988, pp. 1273–355. For the manuscript, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', no. 2.

8 For his life, see D. MacCulloch, 'Jermyn, Sir Thomas (bap. 1573, d. 1644/5)', ODNB, 2004, 30, pp. 49–50.

9 The date is significant. Pattison supposed that Thomson wrote the work to ingratiate himself with Andrewes at a time when his fitness to become University Proctor was being questioned (Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 351–352). However, the agitation against Thomson postdates the completion of the work in support of Andrewes: see chapter 26, 'Final Years and Death'. In October 1611, Thomson bought six copies of his own book at 8 pence each (Cambridge, University Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Court Records, VCCt. III.18, item no. 83).

10 Thomson, *Elenchus*, 1611, pp. 15–24, 24–76, 76–96, 96–103, correspond to Becanus, *Refutatio*, 1610, pp. 2–4, 4–39, 40–63, 63–67.

11 Thomson, *Elenchus*, 1611, pp. 15–24, correspond to Becanus, *Refutatio*, 1610, pp. 2–4.

Thomson's third chapter focusses on fifteen 'paradoxa', that is, weak or inconsistent arguments which Becanus attributes to Andrewes. In each, Thomson finds Becanus' case not proven, sometimes accusing him of misrepresenting Andrewes' words, and eager to point out where Becanus himself uses *convicia*. The King's own harsh words against the puritans had provided an opportunity for catholic controversialists by acknowledging that the kingdom was subject to fierce divisions of opinion on religious matters. Bellarmine had taken up the issue, and Andrewes had counter-attacked. Becanus in turn made the matter the subject of his first 'paradox', and went so far as to maintain that the Calvinists of Germany and the Low Countries were 'puritans' in the King's terms. This was, of course, a transparent attempt to sow dissension among co-religionaries, but it was also an area of great strategic sensitivity for the King. Thomson saw that a response was needed and developed a position at some length in his own contribution to the debate. He argues that there were once good and bad puritans in England; that all the bad puritans are now ashamed of their earlier behaviour; and that all the remaining puritans are pious and reasonable and hence persuadable.[12] Thus although there remain differences of opinion over religion, violent disagreements are in the past, and a convincing case will overcome remaining reservations. Thomson's sensitivity to *convicia* derives in part from an awareness that the King's case must be gently put if it is to persuade these internal dissenters.

Another distinctive element of Thomson's treatise is worth noticing here. His response to Becanus' tenth paradox, which discusses the Antichrist, is noteworthy for a long discussion about the papal tiara. Thomson ascribes this discussion to 'praestantissimus quidam vir'. In fact, this document, successfully anonymised by Thomson, is extracted from a letter composed by Joseph Scaliger some twenty years earlier.[13] It documents Scaliger's attempts via intermediaries to find out what was inscribed on the tiara, and to determine whether it once bore the word 'mysterium'. This word on the crown would definitively align the Pope with the Antichrist spoken of in Revelation.[14] Scaliger's letter is an attempt to find reliable recent witnesses to substantiate an extraordinary claim, and this mixture of practical considerations with eschatological theology makes it a striking document. It is of a piece with the classical scholarship

12 Thomson, *Elenchus*, 1611, pp. 27–30, correspond to Becanus, *Refutatio*, 1610, pp. 6–9.

13 Thomson, *Elenchus*, 1611, pp. 64–66, is the *editio princeps* of the Latin version of a substantial portion of Scaliger to De Thou, 29 July 1591 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 198–204). The editors of Scaliger's correspondence were unaware of this source.

14 See Revelation 17.5.

so prominently displayed by Thomson throughout the treatise. While Becanus avoids Greek altogether, in Thomson's work Greek words occurs on nearly every page. He cites Lucian, Diodorus Siculus, and Euripides, and he must be one of the rare theological controversialists of his day to cite the scholia to Sophocles.[15]

Before the end of the year, Becanus responded to all of his English adversaries in a single work, published in Latin in Mainz and soon translated into English as *The English Jarre*.[16] The keynote of this work is that these English adversaries are inconsistent among themselves. There is a certain flexibility of focus in works like Thomson's which can feel like inconsistency to the inattentive reader. Thomson's treatise is primarily a defence of Andrewes. However, because Thomson is defending Andrewes' defence of the King the precise nature of the thing defended—the law of the land, a theological position, the king's office or the bishop's role—can shift disconcertingly during reading. Similarly, because Thomson is attacking both Becanus and Becanus' defence of Bellarmine, the focus of his attack sometimes shifts to Bellarmine and back again to Becanus. This confusing abundance of targets is a feature of the genre, not of Thomson's particular treatise, which is carefully directed and vigorously written.

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15 Thomson, *Elenchus*, 1611, pp. 104 (Lucian), 43 (Diodorus), 23 (Euripides), 63 (scholia). Some ancient authors were evidently quoted from memory: Thomson's reference to Varro (p. 16) is corrected to Petronius in the *errata* (p. 104).

16 *The English jarre, or disagreement amongst the ministers of great Brittaine, concerning the Kinges supremacy. Written in Latin by the Reverend Father, F. Martinus Becanus of the Society of Jesus, and professour in divinity. And translated into English by I.W.P.*, [Saint Omer], 1612. Becanus' preface is dated November 1611, a likely date for the completion of the whole work.

CHAPTER 26

Final Years and Death

In 1611, Thomson was in his forties, well respected and well connected. In the final years of his life, however, his theological differences with mainstream Anglicanism involved him in controversy. In particular, it is possible that Thomson and Casaubon, such close friends for nearly twenty years, became estranged towards the ends of their lives.

Casaubon arrived in England on 7 October 1610, and was in London before the end of the month.[1] Thomson was among the first people he met there, and the reunion on 2 November is recorded with evident warmth in Casaubon's diary.[2] Casaubon was immediately put to work by the King on the issue of the oath of allegiance. He dined with Killigrew in London on 20 November.[3] Casaubon does not specify, but this host must be Robert Killigrew, whom Thomson had accompanied on his European tour, and whom Casaubon had met in Geneva. The King had told Casaubon to study the book that Andrewes had composed against Bellarmine, and Casaubon dined with Andrewes and John Overall on 24 November to discuss it, taking the book home with him afterwards.[4]

There are no letters between Casaubon and Thomson from his arrival in England until August 1611. Some letters from this period may be lost, but it is more likely that letters were rendered unnecessary by regular meetings. The second recorded meeting of the two men took place at the very end of

1 Casaubon arrived in Dover on 17 October n.s., or 7 October as his hosts reckoned the calendar (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, pp. 769–774).

2 Casaubon visited the King and his heir Prince Henry on 2 November o.s.: 'Antea veterem amicum Thomsonum virum eruditissimum videram, et animum gaudio ingenti expleveram' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 787). Most of the entries in Casaubon's diary use the Gregorian calendar, but in May 1613 he changed to the Julian reckoning in use in England (ibid., p. 985).

3 That is, on 30 November n.s. (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 793).

4 That is, on 4 December n.s. (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, pp. 793–794). See Casaubon's letter to James Montague, dated 1 December 1610 n.s.: 'Iussus ego fueram legere quae a viro praestantissimo domino Eliensi adversus Bellarminum sunt scripta, ut quid mihi de ea scriptione videretur, serenissimae maiestati exponerem' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 696, p. 365). The bishop's book is: Andrewes, *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra praefationem monitoriam Serenissimi ac potentissimi principis Iacobi*, London, excudebat Robertus Barkerus, serenissimae Regiae Maiestatis typographus, 1610.

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the year. On 30 December 1610, Casaubon went to stay at Killigrew's country house for the New Year.[5] During this stay, Casaubon and Thomson discussed theology, and Casaubon read Petrus Bertius' recently printed Arminian treatise, *Hymenaeus desertor*.[6] This was a rare and controversial work, and the copy he read must have belonged to Thomson. Bertius claimed in 1612 that he had not distributed the bulk of the edition, and that there were only three copies of his treatise in circulation in all of England.[7] Casaubon himself had been unable to find a copy of his own in London before Bertius sent him one in September 1611.[8]

At the start of 1611, Casaubon seems to have been undecided as to the merits of Bertius' treatise and its Arminian foundations. His comment on the work in his diary is characteristically guarded: 'May the truth prevail: this is all I may safely desire'.[9] Casaubon's exposure to Arminian theology increased in the summer of 1611 when he spent many weeks in Ely and Cambridge. On 17 July he visited Cambridge, staying in Peterhouse; the following day, he visited the libraries of eight Cambridge colleges with Thomson, and later both men dined at Peterhouse with the master of the College, John Richardson.[10] Richardson, like Thomson, was one of the translators of the King James Bible; and, like Thomson, he too was an Arminian. Casaubon recorded in his diary that he

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5 Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, pp. 811, 812.

6 10 January 1611 n.s.: 'Diem totum rure egi apud D. Kilegrai [*sic*], cum veteri amico Thomsono. Ibi legi librum nuper editum a P. Bertio *De apostasia sanctorum*' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, pp. 811–812). Casaubon refers to: Bertius, *Hymenaeus desertor, sive De sanctorum apostasia problemata duo*, Leiden, ex off. I. Patii, 1610. Bertius' preface to this work is dated 12 August 1610.

7 Bertius to Casaubon, 5 April 1612: 'paucula admodum exemplaria hactenus distributa sunt nec nisi inter doctos et notos; caetera adhuc servantur apud me. Tria habet universa Britannia, eaque tuto deposita' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 796, p. 462).

8 See Casaubon to Bertius, 29 September 1611 (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 743, p. 432).

9 'Utinam vincat veritas: hoc unum tuto mihi licet optare!' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 812).

10 28 July n.s.: 'V Kal. Aug. Quum essem nactus R. Thomsonem περιηγητήν, octo hodie mane Collegia Cantabrigiensia lustravimus: Pembrochianum, Reginale, Regale, Clarense (in quo Thomson), Caii Medici, item Trinitatis, et S. Iohannis—quae duo postrema omnium sunt quae hactenus vidi maxima et magnificentissima. Deinde apud hospitem nostrum dominum Richardsonem Petrensis Collegii Praefectum pransi, Eliam venimus, et postquam ibi dominus Episcopus Decanum senio et morbo confectum invisisset, ad hanc domini Episcopi domum pervenimus, ubi haec scribebam paullo post adventum' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 855).

spent 20 July in Cambridge reading the works of Arminius, 'a subtle theologian and, as I have heard, a very good man'.[11] He is likely to have had this last piece of information about Arminius' personal virtue from Thomson, one of the few Englishmen of his day who had actually met him. In August, Thomson and Richardson are to be found lending books to Casaubon.[12] Cumulatively, the evidence suggests that during Casaubon's first year in England, he and Thomson were frequently together, that Thomson was discussing Arminian ideas sympathetically with him, lending him Arminian books, and introducing him to influential English Arminians.

Something may have disrupted this friendship in the final months of 1611. On 21 August, Thomson wrote to Casaubon the only angry letter to survive from his pen.[13] He had been passed over for a university position at Cambridge; a faction was conspiring against him; and a document critical of his behaviour was being circulated for subscriptions. The position in question was that of senior Proctor, for which he was proposed in July 1611.[14] The leader of the opposing faction was the master of Clare Hall, William Smith, whose appointment Thomson had publicly opposed in 1599.[15] The reason for which Thomson was proposed was probably the good work done in the King's cause by his treatise in support of Andrewes earlier the same year. The reason Thomson's appointment generated controversy was probably the Arminianism which he shared with Bertius and Richardson.

The timing of these events in the late summer of 1611 is significant. While Casaubon was in Cambridge and Ely, in late August King James was reading the works of Conrad Vorstius, professor of theology at Leiden, with growing indignation.[16] To James' mind, Vorstius' work was a particularly objectionable exam-

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11 30 July n.s.: 'III Kal. Aug. In Arminii libellis legendis hodie multus fui. Subtilis plane theologus, et, ut accepi, vir optimus' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 856).

12 In a letter to Overall, dated 5 August 1611, Casaubon wrote of a lack of books at Downham, near Ely: 'Quod si dominus Richardsonus et Thomsonus noster sua copia meam non sublevassent inopiam, literas, credo, iam τέλεως dedicissem. Multus mihi cum utroque illorum de te sermo, et cum eramus Cantabrigiae, et postea, cum illi huc ad dominum Episcopum venissent' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 739, pp. 430–431).

13 Thomson to Casaubon, 21 August 1611 (pp. 351–352).

14 See 11 July 1611: 'Letter to the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall, Cambridge, for Rich. Thomson, Fellow there, to be chosen Proctor of the University, the election falling to that house this year' (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of James I. 1611–1618*, ed. M.A.E. Green, London, 1858 (repr. Liechtenstein, 1967), p. 58.

15 See chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599', pp. 67–68.

16 James read: Vorstius, *Tractatus theologicus de Deo, sive de natura et attributis Dei*, Burgsteinfurt, excudebat Theoph. Caesar, 1610; Vorstius, *Apologetica exegesis sive Plenior dec-*

ple of the pernicious Arminian tendencies which were infecting his national church. It was exactly at this date that the agitation against Thomson began. In early September, a few days after Casaubon had returned to London, the King summoned his protégé and made it very clear that he did not approve of Arminianism in any of its forms.[17] Within days, Casaubon had written to Bertius to tell him politely but firmly that he, Casaubon, disapproved of his Arminian work.[18] This was the very same work he had read with Thomson in Killigrew's house the previous New Year, and about which he had so carefully withheld his judgement in his diary. By October, Casaubon had also read the King's open letter against the doctrines of Arminius, Bertius and Vorstius.[19] The opinions of Casaubon's King and patron on this issue were now unambiguous and public.

On his arrival in England in 1610, Casaubon had probably had no settled opinions about the matter, and had been willing to debate the merits of the doctrines of Arminius and Bertius with an open mind with Thomson and others. The King's forthright pronouncements on the subject in the second half of 1611 rendered any show of ambivalence from Casaubon, and any show of

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laratio locorum aliquot ex libro eiusdem De Deo, sive De natura et attributis Dei excerpta, eique pro erroneis imposita, Leiden, ex officina Ioannis Patii, 1611. The date derives from the King's own words: 'superiore autumno … sub finem mensis Augusti, duo Vorstii libelli ad manus nostras pervenerunt' (*Declaratio serenissimi Magnae Britanniae Regis, qua quid cum Generalibus foederatarum Belgii provinciarum Ordinibus super re Vorstii actum tractatumve sit, singillatim explicatur*, London, excusum typis Ioh. Norton, 1612, pp. 2–3). Casaubon had not read Vorstius' works by September 1611, for he wrote to Lydius on 29 September: 'Nova et impia sunt, quae nuper apud vos quidam de natura Dei ausus est proferre in lucem. Ego librum non legi; sed Rex, qui legit diligenter, mira mihi narravit et detestanda' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 742, p. 432).

17 6 September o.s.: 'XVI Kal. Oct. [1611] … Vidi ibi Regem, et de multis rebus prolixe egi cum ipso, maxime de haeresi Vorstiana, cui vix par audacia et abominatione alia videtur adhuc nata' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 880).

18 Casaubon to Bertius, 29 September 1611: 'Nonus iam mensis agitur, cum in rustica domo magnatis cuiusdem diatribam illam tuam ostendit mihi Richardus Thomson, vir doctissimus et mihi amicissimus …' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 743, p. 432). The 'magnatus' is Robert Killigrew. It is not clear whether Casaubon's letter is dated according to the Julian or the Gregorian calendar.

19 24 Oct. 1611 o.s.: 'III Non. Nov. Vidi epistolam a Iacobo Rege scriptam ad Ordines contra Vorstium, Arminium, Bertium plenam ingentis vehementiae. Arminium vocat inimicum Dei, et hunc et Bertium haereticos perditos' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 896). Casaubon has read the letters to the States General, published in English in 1612: *His Majesties declaration concerning his proceedings with the States Generall of the United Provinces of the Low Countreys, in the cause of D.C. Vorstius*, London, Robert Barker, 1612. It was also printed in Latin and French.

support for Thomson, extremely difficult. Casaubon, once a fulsome admirer of the King's learning and piety, now began to anticipate their meetings with some apprehension: in September, summoned to speak with James, Casaubon prayed that he might not say anything which would compromise his own beliefs;[20] in November, Casaubon records in his diary his praise for the King's religious zeal, but notes that learned men do not share James' theological position.[21] Casaubon hardened his public stance against Arminianism in the autumn of 1611, but he seems to have done so only after his new patron had made it unwise for him to do otherwise.

Thomson's angry letter of 21 August 1611 asked Casaubon to postpone his departure for London so that they could meet to discuss the situation. Casaubon, in no great hurry to return to London, met Thomson with Andrewes on 23 August in Ely.[22] Some sort of compromise seems to have been arranged. Andrewes made Thomson rector of Snailwell in Cambridgeshire when the position fell vacant in the spring of 1612.[23] In August 1612, William Smith, master of Clare Hall and Thomson's critic the preceding summer, became Provost of King's College. This may have removed or appeased one of the obstacles to Thomson becoming senior Proctor in the autumn of 1612, a year later than he had originally planned. Andrewes, writing to Casaubon in September 1612, said that Thomson was well and working towards this new position.[24]

Thomson's immediate difficulties in the summer of 1611 were patched up, but the King's stance may ultimately have made it more difficult for Casaubon to associate with Thomson. Thomson, of course, had written his own lengthy

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20 20 Sept. 1611 o.s.: 'O da mihi, Πάτηρ ἐπουράνιε, apud Regem pium nihil dicere, nihil facere, nihil tota vita cogitare, quod non voluntati tuae congruat' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 888).

21 24 Oct. 1611 o.s.: 'Laudo maximi Regis zelum pro religione. Scimus tamen viros graves et apprime doctos de Bertio non ita plane sentire, neque de Arminio. Τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 896).

22 That is, 2 September n.s.: 'IV Non. Sept. Mane aliquid in studiis, sed parum; a prandio nihil prorsus; neque tamen poenitet, nam totum tempus fui cum magno praesule domino Episcopo et amicissimo Tomsone' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 876).

23 Lancelot Andrewes' Episcopal Register: 'Snaylwell Rectoria in comitatu Cantabr.] Rich. Thompson A.M. ad Rectoriam praedictam, per mortem naturalem Richardi Cleyton … vacantem, reverendo patri Iohanni Norwicen. Episcopo praesentatus est et commendatus 14 die Maii, anno Domini 1612' (Cambridge, University Library, Mm.1.39, p. 141).

24 'Thompsonus valet, et novum magistratum meditatur, in eoque totus est' (8 September 1612). The autograph is London, British Library, Burney 363, fol. 28^{r}; printed in J. Bliss, ed. *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron: And Other Miscellaneous Works of Lancelot Andrewes*, Oxford, 1854, pp. xliv–xlv.

Arminian treatise. Although he prudently kept this in manuscript form during his lifetime, Casaubon knew of it, and it is likely that others were aware of its existence if not of its contents.[25] If Casaubon publicly disapproved of Bertius' treatise, then he must have been obliged to disapprove of Thomson's work on the same subject. The reason for believing that this issue divided the two men is an absence of evidence. Thomson seems to disappear from Casaubon's life after 1611. There is no reason to believe that Thomson went to London during his final years, although he does speak vaguely of a future visit in a letter to Casaubon of November 1611. Events may have kept the two men apart: Thomson was a busy man, and Casaubon was busier still. Nevertheless, some omissions are worth noting. In February 1612, for example, Casaubon wrote in his diary: 'Today I was with friends, the Dean of St Paul's and the Bishop of Ely, my only two close English friends'.[26] This entry, in which Casaubon reflects on his isolation in London, excludes Thomson from his circle of close friends. In the autumn of 1612, Casaubon writes to De Thou that those whom he knew before he came to England no longer want to know him. The complaint is particularly directed at Henry Wotton, but it is couched in terms which include Thomson.[27] It is also worth noting that, although Casaubon records several deaths in his diary, Thomson's death in 1613 passes unremarked, a sad omission after so many years of friendship.

Thomson's death early in January 1613 seems to have been sudden and unexpected. He died during his term of office as senior Proctor.[28] The Parish registers of St Edward's church, Cambridge, record that he was buried in the south chapel of the church, the chapel customarily used for worship by Clare College.[29] Thomson's sister Abigail administered his affairs in the days immedi-

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25 This posthumously published work is considered in chapter 27, 'Thomson's Legacy: The *Diatriba*, 1616'.

26 'Eid. Feb. Apud amicos fui hodie dominum Decanum et dominum Eliensem, quos solos Anglorum familiares habeo' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 916). The 'Decanus' is John Overall, Dean of St Paul's.

27 Casaubon to De Thou, 9 November 1612 o.s.: 'Ego mores Anglorum non capio. Quoscunque ipse habui notos priusquam huc venirem, iam ego illis sum ignotus, vere peregrinus, barbarus. Nemo illorum me vel verbulo appellat; appellatus silet. Hoc quid rei sit, non scio' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 841, p. 506).

28 The Proctors for 1611 were Thomas Muriell (senior) and John Williams (junior). The Proctors for 1612 were Thomson (senior) and Stephen Haggett (junior). Henry Birde took over as senior Proctor on Thomson's death. Birde was of Trinity Hall, which traditionally supplied Proctors on the death of one in office: see *The Historical Record of the University of Cambridge*, ed. J.R. Tanner, Cambridge, 1917, pp. 34–35, 39.

29 8 January 1613: 'Richard Thomson Mr. of Arts and Fellowe of Clare hall in the South

ately after his death,[30] probably because Emanuel, Richard's only surviving male relative, was not in the country at the time. Richard's creditors were given four weeks, until 12 February 1613, to lodge their claims against his estate.[31] This period was subsequently extended by a fortnight to 26 February, but the extension did not prevent Emanuel from being granted probate on Richard's estate on 12 February.[32] Thomson's rectorship of Snailwell was reassigned on 21 January 1613.[33] There is today a modern plaque on the wall of St Edward's church in Cambridge, commemorating Thomson as one of the translators of the King James Bible. Misled by the old style calendar which began the new year on 25 March, the inscription mistakenly gives Thomson's death as January 1612, a minor indignity.

Chappell in St Edwardes parish and payd to the Churchwardens their for his burriall vi^{s} 8^{d}'.

30 See Cambridge University Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Court records, VCCt. III.8, item no. 40.

31 'That all and singular the kindred, consanguinity, and creditors of Richard Tompson late whilest he lived master of arts and fellowe of Clare Hall in Cambridge deceased, and all other havinge anie right title interest in the goods rights, credits and chattells of the sayed Richard Tompson doe appeare in the Consistory Court of this universytie uppon the twelfth day of Februarye next at one of the clocke in the afternoone to claime theire debts, dues and porcions and to see the administratrix passe her accompte' (Cambridge University Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Court records, VCCt. III.8, item no. 40).

32 The probate records for February 1613 record the grant: 'Duodecimo die emanavit commissio Emanueli Thomson fratri naturali et ultimo Richardi Thomson nuper de Snailwell in comitatu Cantabrigiae … ad administrandum bona iura et credita dicti defuncti …' (London, Public Record Office, PROB 6/8, fol. 85^{v}).

33 Lancelot Andrewes' Episcopal Register: 'Snaylwell Rectoria in comitatu Cantabr.] Robertus Burhill S.T. Bacc. ad Rectoriam praedictam, per mortem naturalem Richardi Thompson … vacantem, praesentatus est et commendatus Iohanni Episcopo Norwic. 21 die Ianuarii anno Domini 1612' (that is, 1613 n.s.; Cambridge, University Library, Mm.1.39, p. 141).

CHAPTER 27

Thomson's Legacy: The *Diatriba*, 1616

Thomson's reputation was shaped by the posthumous publication of his long-suppressed Arminian treatise on justifying grace. This work was perhaps written as early as 1600, on Thomson's return to England from his continental travels.[1] The evidence for its early conception derives from a statement made in 1618 by Robert Abbot, the Bishop of Salisbury, in a work attacking Thomson's. Abbot stated that Thomson wrote his treatise eighteen years ago, but had been unable to get a licence to have it printed. Abbot claims that he had this information from an unnamed man who knew Thomson well, who had read the treatise, and who was surprised by the extent of Thomson's patristic references.[2] Among Dutch theologians sympathetic to Thomson's work a similar account circulated: that Thomson had very nearly been granted a licence to print his treatise, but on reflection it was thought better not to provoke certain elements within the English church by publishing it.[3]

As brother to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611, Robert was very well placed to know the details surrounding ecclesiastical licences to publish. Robert must have had his reasons for not identifying Thomson's early reader, but it is a tantalising omission. It is tempting to identify this reader

1 See chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599', pp. 69–70.

2 'Ille quidem libellus ante octodecim annos natus (sic enim retulit mihi vir quidam doctus et gravis, qui illum tunc inspexit et legit et familiariter authorem percontatus est, unde tot Patrum testimonia usurparet, quippe quem ipse norat Patres illo tempore vix quidem attigisse) gratiam impressionis ante mortem scriptoris obtinere non potuit; post ad Batavos transnatavit, et Lugduni per libertatem prophetandi praelum invenit; et inde iam apertis auris utitur, quem speratum est in perpetuis tenebris sepultum iri' (R. Abbot, *De gratia, et perseverantia sanctorum: exercitationes aliquot habitae in Academia Oxoniensi .... Quibus accessit eiusdem in Richardi Thomsoni Anglo-Belgici diatribam de amissione et intercisione iustificationis, et gratiae, animadversio brevis*, London, ex officina Nortoniana, apud Ioannem Billium, 1618, Ad lectorem, sigs c4v–d1r).

3 'Accepimus etiam ex viris fide dignis parum abfuisse quin Thomsonis liber cum publica approbatione imprimeretur, sed hoc pacis causa omissum fuisse, et quia acerbo nimis stylo conscriptus erat adversus eos cum quibus in Anglia ... pacem Christianam coli debere censebatur' (*Responsio necessaria ad Contra-Remonstrantium contrariam declarationem, continens perspicuam et solidam eiusdem refutationem*, Leiden, Ioannes Patius, 1618, p. 135). For ecclesiastical licences in the early seventeenth century, see C.S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 62–64.

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with Casaubon: Casaubon knew Robert Abbot,[4] his knowledge of patristic literature was second to none in the England of his day, and he had also read Thomson's work by 1611.[5] It is likely that the manuscript of Thomson's work which Casaubon read still survives, Thomson's autograph copy.[6] The broad margins of this manuscript seem to have been intended to attract commentary. Some of the earliest marginal comments are bare signposts in Thomson's own hand, but he subsequently added many longer notes. Other annotators appear too among these dense marginalia, but Casaubon's hand seems not to be among them. King James would certainly have been unhappy had Casaubon's learning been used to fortify an Arminian position.

Thomson seems to have kept a close hold on this treatise during his lifetime. It argued that a person once justified does not necessarily always remain justified; that the elect may fall from grace for a time, though not finally; and that the reprobate may be justified for a time, though not finally.[7] A similar work by Bertius had provoked the King's extreme displeasure, and prominent members of the church hierarchy shared the King's feelings. In September 1611, Casaubon was under the impression that Thomson's book had been printed in Germany.[8] This is an odd misunderstanding to entertain of a highly controversial book by a close friend. He can hardly be thinking of Thomson's youthful work on the Eucharist, printed in Germany around 1587. Casaubon may have been misled by the secrecy which Thomson cultivated with regard to this work. This policy was prudent: its publication on the continent in the face of royal and ecclesiastical disapproval at home would have had serious consequences for his career. The autograph manuscript did not originally contain Thomson's name,[9] and the annotators may have taken care to preserve the author's anonymity.

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4 A single letter survives from their correspondence, dated 13 June 1613 o.s. (London, British Library, Burney 363, fol. 23^{r}; Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, vol. 2, notes, p. 1230). It does not concern Thomson's treatise. For Casaubon's acquaintance with Robert Abbot, see also Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 357–358, 359.

5 Casaubon to Bertius, 29 September 1611: 'Liber Richardi Thomsonis eiusdem argumenti cum tuo mihi lectus est' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 743, pp. 432–433).

6 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson, D.1351 (olim 14080), fols 23ff., intitled: 'Diatriba de omissione et intercisione iustificationis. Ad ornatissimos et doctissimos Cantebrigienses academicos. Opposita nupero cuidam et anonymo scriptori'. The 'anonymus scriptor' is not identified in the manuscript.

7 For the fullest modern description of Thomson's work, see: P. White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 167–174.

8 Casaubon to Bertius, 29 September 1611: 'Eum [*sc*. librum] puto iam editum in Germania, et tibi visum' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 743, pp. 432–433).

9 A later hand has added at the foot of the title page: 'Thomsoni αὐτόγραφον'.

Within a few months of Thomson's death, a manuscript copy of the treatise was in London with John Overall, Dean of St Paul's. Overall may have discussed it with Hugo Grotius when the latter visited London in the spring of 1613, for shortly before Grotius returned to the Low Countries, Overall sent his manuscript to him. The copy which he sent was not Thomson's autograph, which at this date was in the hands of a bookseller, but another less satisfactory copy.[10] Grotius passed this copy of Thomson's *Diatriba* to Gerardus Vossius in 1614, and Vossius had commissioned a transcription of it by August of that year.[11] In October, arrangements were being made to return Grotius' exemplar to him, so the new copy must have been complete.[12] Thus by the end of 1614 at least three manuscripts were in existence: Thomson's autograph in England, the clumsy copy sent to Grotius by Overall, and the copy of Grotius' exemplar commissioned by Vossius.

Among the Dutch Arminians, thoughts now turned to publication of Thomson's work. By April 1615, Bertius had told Grotius that he was eager to read it.[13] The fact that Bertius approached Grotius for a manuscript of the work indicates that it was not widely available in the Low Countries. When Vossius learned of Bertius' request, he immediately sent Grotius a copy, apparently the same copy he had made from Grotius' exemplar the previous year. At the same time, Vossius enthusiastically seconded Grotius' suggestion that the *Diatriba* be printed.[14] Bertius, having now read the work himself, was also keen to see

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10 Overall, in London, to Grotius, 16 May 1613: 'Mitto cum tuo scripto exemplar *Diatribes* Richardi Thomsonis imperite descriptum, necdum mihi otium fuit cum autographo, quod penes bibliopolam est, conferre. Utcunque sit, accipies in bonam partem' (Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling*, 1928–2001, 1, no. 267, p. 244). Grotius' undated reply is extant: ibid., 1, no. 268, pp. 244–245.

11 Vossius to Grotius in Rotterdam, 11 August 1614: 'In Anglicano illo scripto describendo strenue progreditur amanuensis; sed tamen ob ductos incommodos et plurima vitia orthographica nondum dimidium libri absolvit' (ibid., 1, no. 360, p. 345).

12 Grotius to Vossius, 20 October 1614: 'Thomsonem, ubi commodum erit, expectabo' (ibid., 1, no. 379, p. 365). Vossius to Grotius, 23 October 1614: 'Thomsonum nunc non mitto, sed fiet Deo volente, extrema hebdomade sequenti. Nam quia media istac hebdomade boarium forum ferias nobis largietur, commode tum, quod hactenus non licuit, cum exemplari tuo conferam id quod exscripsit amanuensis' (ibid., 1, no. 381, p. 367). Grotius to Vossius, 23 October 1614: 'De Thomsone non est quod festines' (ibid., 1, no. 382, p. 368).

13 Grotius to Vossius, 11 April 1615: 'Rogat me obnixe Bertius ut copia sibi fiat legendi libelli quem Thomson scripsit *De amissione et intercisione iustificationis*. Vide an eo carere possis; simulque delibera an cum utilitate aliqua edi possit is libellus' (ibid., 1, no. 395, p. 378).

14 Vossius to Grotius, 14 April 1615: 'Mitto … Thomsoni librum praestantissimum …. De Thom-

it in print.[15] According to Grotius, the English Bishops Andrewes and Overall would be glad to see Thomson's work published.[16] The book was being printed in the spring of 1616 by Jan Paets in Leiden, probably from Vossius' tidy copy of Grotius' manuscript.[17]

When Overall learned that the work was in the press, he remembered the faults of the manuscript he had sent to Grotius in 1613, and offered to send a better copy.[18] This new English manuscript cannot be the autograph, and it is thus the fourth known copy of Thomson's work. It is plausibly identified with a manuscript now in Durham. The text of the Durham manuscript is closer to Thomson's autograph than it is to the *editio princeps* of 1616. It is a very neat and careful copy, which suggests that it is not the clumsy copy originally sent by Overall to Grotius. Moreover, the Durham manuscript has a connection with Overall: it once belonged to John Cosin, who was secretary and librarian to Overall at the time of his death in 1619 and later Bishop of Durham.[19] In any case, printing was apparently at an advanced stage when Overall's offer was made, so the manuscript was never sent abroad. Grotius had his copy of the

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sono non tantum suadeo, sed etiam rogo quamprimum edatur. Nihil ea diatriba hoc in genere vel doctius extat, vel elegantius. Me quidem valde in vera sententia confirmavit. … Quamquam vero liber iste Thomsoni multis partibus sit emendatius descriptus quam exemplar ipsum, tamen supersunt in eo non pauca, in Graecis imprimis, quae corrigi debeant. Ut emendanda putaram, de quibusdam ante trimestre in chartula annotaram; sed hanc licet quaesitam, nunc invenire non possum' (ibid., 1, no. 396, pp. 378–379).

15 Bertius to Grotius, 19 April 1615 (ibid., 1, no. 398, pp. 380–381).

16 Grotius to Vossius, [19 April 1615]: 'Thomsoni *Diatribam* eruditissimam mittam Bertio, res fiet Episcopis Eliensi et Lichfeldensi gratissima, si prodeat is liber' (ibid., 1, no. 397, p. 380).

17 *R. Thomsonis Angli Diatriba de amissione et intercisione gratiae et iustificationis*, Leiden, Johannes Patius, 1616.

18 Grotius to Overall, 26 June 1616 (Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling*, 1928–2001 1, no. 460, p. 516); Overall to Grotius, 6 August 1616: 'De Thomsoni nostri libello typis dato, ut scribis, vereor ne exemplar illud, quod habetis, a notario multa peccet; habeo nunc aliud eius exemplar, paulo melius, ut opinor, descriptum, quod vel collationis gratia transmisissem ad te, si habuissem cui commode possem dare' (ibid., 1, no. 468, p. 523).

19 Durham, Palace Green Library, Cosin ms. B.I.1: 'Richardi Thomsonis Cantabrigiensis Diatriba de iustificatione, sive gratia et fide iustificante, utrum, quomodo, aut quatenus cum peccato mortali sive regnante possint consistere. Sive de amissione et intercisione gratiae et iustificationis'. T. Rud, in *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis*, London, 1838, p. 184, says that this seems to be in Cosin's hand: it is not. Most of the marginalia are in the same hand as the text itself, but there are some marginal notes and corrections in another hand (pp. [5], 17, 23, [32], [150]). For Cosin, see A. Milton, 'Cosin, John (1595–1672)', ODNB, 2004, 13, pp. 531–538.

printed text by the middle of August 1616,[20] while Overall had received a copy by June the following year.[21]

The book was printed in Leiden, but its sponsors had one eye firmly on its reception in England.[22] Bertius had evidently proposed including some of his own writing in the volume, but it was decided that he should be kept well away from the project, for fear that his name would alienate some readers, and particularly the English ones.[23] The finished book begins abruptly with no preliminary material, and no dedicatory letter. It is very unusual to have a book presented so baldly to its readers, and it seems to be a strategy designed to preserve the Englishness of the treatise in its Dutch setting. In the Leiden edition of 1616, Thomson is described on the title page as 'Anglus'. This is a slight reorientation of the work, for Thomson conceived of the treatise as that of a Cambridge scholar addressing his fellows. This is apparent from the autograph manuscript, and from its close relative in Durham where he is identified as 'Cantabrigiensis'.[24] Thomson's critics were also sensitive to his nationality:

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20 Grotius to Vossius, 19 August 1616: 'Thomsonis exemplar accepi, cum voluptate legi et dono dedi Galliae legato cum his diebus apud me pranderet. Scripserat mihi nuper Corvinus indicarem quot praeterea exemplaribus mihi esset opus; ego ad hoc silui. Sed si quatuor aut quinque incompacta mittat, gratum futurum est' (Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling*, 1928–2001, 1, no. 472, p. 526). The French ambassador is Benjamin Aubery du Maurier.

21 Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling*, 1928–2001, 1, no. 516, p. 571. This is surprisingly late, and it may not be the first copy sent to Overall.

22 See, for example, Grotius to Vossius, 25 August 1616: 'Scire velim an satis vendibilis sit Thomsoni liber. Utinam multos lectores inveniat! Imprimis exspecto quid in Anglia de hoc libro futurum sit. Nam Cantuariensis Primas si rescierit, turbas, ni fallor, dabit' (ibid., 1, no. 473, p. 527).

23 Grotius to Vossius, 23 February 1616: 'Audio parari editionem Thomsoni, et probo factum, sed simul audio moliri Bertium ut de suo quaedam adiiciat, quod plane improbo. Neque enim expedit. Rogo resciscas et si potes impedias; sin minus me moneas ut impediam. Solum enim Bertii nomen in Anglia librum immerito odio praegravabit' (ibid., 1, no. 449, p. 499). Grotius to his brother Willem, 19 March 1616: 'Domino Corvino dicas velim me cum viris prudentissimis egisse de libelli Thomsoniani editione: eos ita aestimare omnem frugem libri perituram, si domini Bertii scriptum eodem tempore emanet quasi ex constituto. Gratior enim multo erit liber, si nihil existimetur habere commune cum causa Bertiana et plures lectores, forte et adstipulatores, inveniet' (ibid., 1, no. 454, p. 510).

24 This reorientation is not confined to the title page. Thomson's regular addresses in the autograph manuscript to 'academici' are systematically eliminated in the printed text. See also in the autograph: 'nae illi indigni sunt, in quos non dicam magni illi theologiae ἀρχι-ερεὺς, Academiae nostrae αὔχημα, sed pedaneus aliquis sophista incurrat' (Rawl.D.1351, fols 99^{v}–100^{r}). In the Durham manuscript, this reference to an unnamed Cambridge theologian is generalised: 'nae … non dicam magni illi theologiae ἀρχιερεὶς, Academiae nos-

when Robert Abbot wrote against him in 1618, Thomson is described on the title page as 'Anglo-Belgicus'. While the Dutch Arminians wanted to present Thomson as an English example of a Dutch religious phenomenon, English anti-Arminians like Abbot wanted to emphasise Thomson's foreignness, and hint at the possibility that his theology had been tainted by it.

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trae αὐχήματα, sed … incurrat' (pp. 160–161). In the edition of 1616 the specific university context is eliminated altogether: 'nae … non dicam magnus ille theologiae ἀρχιερέων αὔχημα, sed … incurrat' (p. 125).

CHAPTER 28

Thomson's Posthumous Reputation

Thomson's *Diatriba* was popular enough to warrant a second edition in 1618.[1] As we have seen, by the time the second edition appeared, the work had already received a detailed critical commentary from a prominent English Churchman, Robert Abbot. Abbot's refutation of Thomson's book was in the press early in 1618, and published within weeks of his death in the spring.[2] Abbot's book, and the controversy between two dead English theologians, was reprinted in Frankfurt the following year.[3] Thus by 1619 this Anglo-Dutch theological skirmish had attracted international attention.[4]

Thomson's standing in the years immediately after his death remained high. This was due in part to the relatively temperate language which he used to advance his most controversial positions, but also to a lingering respect among his contemporaries for his considerable learning. This learning had an international aspect which reinforced and undermined his reputation. Richard Mountague, a Cambridge colleague and sympathiser, spoke well of him in 1621, but noted that he was 'better knowne in Italy, France, and Germany, than at home'.[5]

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1 *Richardi Thomsonis Angli Diatriba de amissione et intercisione gratiae, et iustificationis*, Leiden, excudit Ioannis Patius Academiae Typographus, 1618. The reprint was being considered in the summer of 1617. Grotius to Overall, 9 July 1617: 'Tomsonianum librum prevelim edi emendatius, ita enim meretur et argumentum, et in argumento authoris industria' (Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling*, 1928–2001, 1, no. 519, p. 574). Sample collations indicate that the edition of 1618 was set from that of 1616, largely integrating the *errata* of the earlier edition. The later edition has no additional material.

2 Overall to Grotius, 21 February 1618: 'Audio tractatum quendam Episcopi nunc Sarisburiensis, fratris Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, modo sub praelo esse contra Arminianos et *Diatribam* Thomsoni' (ibid., 1, no. 562, p. 607). Grotius had not seen Abbot's book by March (Grotius to Vossius, 14 March 1618; ibid., 1, no. 564, p. 609). A copy in Cambridge bears an inscription dated 3 June 1618 (Cambridge, St John's College, shelfmark U.14.4).

3 Abbot died 2 March 1618: see J. Lock, 'Abbot, Robert (1559/60–1618)', ODNB, 2004, 1, pp. 31–35. The Frankfurt edition of 1619 appears to be a reprint of the text of 1618, with no additional material.

4 For the broader context of Thomson's Arminianism, see N. Tyacke, 'Arminianism and English Culture', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse, eds, *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 7: *Church and State since the Reformation*, The Hague, 1981, pp. 94–117.

5 R. Mountague, *Diatribae upon the first part of the late history of Tithes*, London, Felix Kyngston for Matthew Lownes, 1621, p. 126.

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By 1626, however, Thomson's reputation as a heterodox religious controversialist had come to overshadow memories of his scholarship. He was named in that year by Mountague's opponent Carleton among 'the first disturbers of this uniformity of doctrine' in the English church.[6]

It is in this context of religious controversy that the charge of drunkenness is first associated with Thomson. According to William Prynne in 1630, Thomson 'was but an Anglo-Belgicus, a dissolute, ebrious, prophane, luxurious English-Dutchman, and against such intemperate gracelesse clergie men as he … saint Bernard thunders out many dreadfull woes …'.[7] Prynne picks up on the 'Anglo-Belgicus' deliberately assigned to Thomson by Robert Abbot a few years earlier. Thomson's Arminianism and his Dutchness may have constituted in Prynne's mind sufficient proof that Thomson was 'ebrious'. Thomson's supposed drunkenness reappeared in 1658, when William Barlee stated that Thomson used to participate in the Arminian habit of deprecating the learning of his adversaries: 'Drunken Dick Thomson, a man bewitched with the conceit of his own parts as much as any Babylonian intoxicated by the cup of the whore, doth the like, and that very tragically'.[8]

In 1674, Henry Hickman talks of Thomson, 'that grand propagator of Arminianism', and says: 'If any one in a fit of intemperance minded him of the wrath of God threatened against such courses, he would answer, "I am a child of the devil today; but I have free will and tomorrow I will make myself a child of God".' The 'intemperance' must be supposed to be Thomson's drunkenness. Hickman goes on to say that one reason that Thomson's Arminian tract was not confuted by the Cambridge professors was 'because Thompson's life had confuted his book at Cambridge. He was a man of most debauched conversation, and confirmed himself in his debauchedness by his Arminianism; for when men reproved him for his prophaness, he would say "My will is free, I am a child of the devil today, tomorrow I will make myself a child of God".'[9] There is no other record of Thomson saying any such thing, and it is inconceivable that he actually did so. Hickman's is a dramatic parody of the Arminian position, not a record of an event. By the end of the seventeenth century,

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6 George Carleton, *An Examination of those Things wherein the Author of the late Appeale holdeth the Doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the Doctrines of the Church of England*, London, for William Turner, 1626, p. 8.

7 Prynne, *Anti-Arminianisme*, 1630, pp. 268–269.

8 William Barlee, *A Necessary Vindication of the Doctrine of Predestination*, London, for George Sawbridge, 1658, p. 26.

9 Henry Hickman, *Historia Quinq-Articularis Exarticulata*, London, for Robert Boulter, 1674, pp. 91, 227.

drunken Dick Thomson, the Dutch heretic, had become a bogeyman animated by the opponents of Arminianism.

The fable of Thomson's 'intemperance in his later years' has been repeated ever since.[10] Even the circumspect Pattison suggested that as a Dutchman he had 'perhaps imbibed the taste of the country'.[11] The *libellus* circulating against Thomson in that year contained articles 'super moribus ac vita mea', but the main charge seems to have been directed against his teaching.[12] All the circumstances indicate that it was his known Arminian sympathies which led to the attack on his fitness to teach in the University. Thomson is fondly sketched by Pierre du Moulin in Paris in 1599 with a drink in his hand, and an enthusiasm for talking about books.[13] In 1595, Thomson playfully recalls an absent drinking companion in a London pub.[14] But beyond these notices, there is nothing to suggest that Thomson liked a drink any more, or any less, than his contemporaries.

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10 A.W. McClure, *The Translators Revived: A Biographical Memoir of the Authors of the English Version of the Holy Bible*, New York, 1853, pp. 99–100.

11 Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, p. 351.

12 For the terms of the complaint, see Thomson to Casaubon, 21 August 1611 (pp. 351–352).

13 See chapter 14, 'Paris, July 1599'.

14 See Thomson to Vulcanius, 4 February 1595 (p. 197).

CHAPTER 29

Conclusion

Thomson has until now been known, if he is known at all, for two things: as a translator of the King James Bible, and as one of the earliest English Arminians. This reputation has developed despite the fact that his activities as a translator are involved in the obscurity which covers the work of all the King's translators, and despite the fact that Thomson's work as a theologian was successfully suppressed during his own lifetime. The present study adds relatively little to our knowledge of these parts of his life, while substantially expanding our understanding of every other part. It is hoped that this book will ensure that Thomson is no longer best known for the least well documented elements of his biography.

This book attempts to coordinate and present the available evidence for Thomson's activities, and to extract some of the narratives which it makes possible. This task properly occupies the bulk of these pages, but there is one question which ought to be considered here even if it cannot be answered. Thomson is an unusual figure because he is richly documented and yet has been largely unknown to historians of the period. Given the abundant material uncovered in the present study, Thomson's relative invisibility to modern scholarship seems to me to require an explanation. If we can discover why such an interesting figure has been overlooked, we may learn how to see into our other blind spots.

Most obviously, Thomson has been overlooked because references to his activities are scattered widely and thinly across the archives of Europe. The lives of highly mobile people in the early modern period are difficult to understand for two reasons. First, it is hard to see in isolated pieces of evidence that there is a larger object worth studying: fragmentation of the evidence often ensures that the investigation never begins. Second, even when an object for study has been identified, the time needed to bring the evidence together is greater than that required to complete other valuable projects. This structural weakness in our sources is to some extent obvious and long-known, but in the context of Thomson it is worth stressing its consequences: internationally-minded figures are likely to be under-represented in modern scholarship, and successful international cooperation is likely to be under-recorded. The cosmopolitan and the collaborative may not be as rare as our histories have made them seem.

Thomson's social position as a merchant's son has also obscured his role. The universities keep excellent records, and the churches are very good at preserving details of their officers, but merchants, as a class, keep fewer sys-

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tematic records of their members. Merchants record the movement of goods and money rather than the succession of offices and titles. Whenever Thomson connects himself to the universities or to the church, he emerges from the darkness. His brother Emanuel published two books and died sensationally in an extraordinary business venture, but lacking a university or church career his biography remains unstructured, unsatisfactory and untold. For historians of the early modern period, academic and ecclesiastical records tend to form the backbone of all biographies. They supply a foundation for a claim to a place in the biographical record, and a peg on which to hang every other observation.

Thomson is obscure because he published very little. His youthful theological tract of 1587 must surely have been an embarrassment. Thomson may have thought it best forgotten, and succeeding centuries obliged. Some projects which he conceived never saw the light of day. These include the work on the New World which he was contemplating in 1600, and an edition of Aulus Gellius broached the same year.[1] Other projects, begun as separate undertakings, ultimately attached themselves to the publications of others. In this category probably belong the material he sent to Froben in 1606 on Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, and his collections on the text of Martial, sent to Scriverius.[2] Friends suggested projects they thought suitable. Thus in 1594 Casaubon proposed that he undertake an edition of Arrian's *Dissertationes*, and offered to help. Thomson demurred, although he did later collate a manuscript of Arrian in Italy.[3] Scaliger suggested that Thomson publish Photius' lexicon, but it is unlikely that either man ever saw much value in such an edition.[4] Thomson's energetic work in the libraries of Europe has no monument.

Thomson has been misunderstood because later ecclesiastical historians found compelling contemporary reasons to simplify his life. In the decades after his death, Thomson's biography was characterised and caricatured by those who wanted to propagate or denigrate his theological legacy. When these specific religious pressures subsided at the end of the seventeenth century, Thomson was not rehabilitated but simply forgotten. Now that we know so much more about him, we can assess these posthumous manoeuvres more

1 For the work on the New World, see Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600 (pp. 235–239). For Gellius, see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599', p. 69.

2 For Cicero, see chapter 19, 'Visitors to Cambridge', pp. 83–85. For Martial, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

3 For Arrian, see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594; Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594 (pp. 173–178, 178–184).

4 See chapter 20, 'The Lexicon of Photius', p. 86.

accurately. In this sense, Thomson provides a little study in how the strategic value of a reputation can overwhelm and supplant a biography.

Thomson's national and linguistic identity has made him easier to marginalise. He is invisible to historians who do not read Latin, and it is for this reason that one of the only things known about him has been his role in producing a work in the vernacular, the King James Bible. Thomson spoke many languages, but almost all of the things he thought worth preserving he said in Latin. His position as a native speaker of both English and Dutch may have heightened the attractions of Latin for him; his position in England as 'Dutch' Thomson may have inclined him to cultivate the supranational language of Latin and pursue full citizenship of the republic of letters. But this is speculation. More certainly, in the last years of Thomson's life the ever turbulent Anglo-Dutch alliance against Catholicism was strained by economic and religious rivalries. In these circumstances, Thomson's Dutchness was becoming more visible. In 1623, Emanuel Thomson was murdered in Amboyna by the Dutch for his Englishness and lionised by the English for the same quality. Yet from the present study it seems clear that Emanuel was at least as Dutch as his brother Richard and his sister Abigail.

All of these considerations are relevant. However, I believe that Thomson has been invisible because his importance does not lie in his own biography, but in his interactions with others. To put it crudely, he knew important people, but was not an important person himself. If I had searched for Thomson as a narrative, a sustained biography, I would never have found him. This book exists because I repeatedly came across Thomson on my way somewhere else, because his presence survives in a series of unexpected encounters with books and people. The shape of the evidence for Thomson's life is worth understanding because the way in which he has been preserved and the reasons he matters are connected. There are no self-conscious statements of humility in Thomson, and he was not a self-effacing man, but he does seem to live with an unspoken assumption that his labours are to be spent freely in the service of other scholars. This assumption has shaped the evidence for his life. It is why he appears so often in the footnotes and prefaces of other people's books, on the periphery of the projects of other scholars. It is Thomson's assumption that scholarship is service which has helped conceal him from us for so long.

PART 2

Thomson's Letters

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The Letters

What follows is a critical edition of all the surviving correspondence of Richard Thomson, a total of seventy-eight letters. Details of a further five letters which have not come to light are also included in the list of Thomson's correspondence below. Of the surviving letters, forty-three letters have never been printed before. Thirteen have been printed in the new edition of the correspondence of Joseph Scaliger. The present book provides the first critical edition of the remaining twenty-two letters. Details of all preceding editions of these letters are supplied here.

Thomson's first and largest letter is really a book. It has been discussed above, and has been excluded from the present collection.[1] The largest group of letters is from the correspondence between Thomson and Isaac Casaubon. There are eleven letters from Casaubon to Thomson, all of which have been printed before: seven of these were first printed in 1638, while four were not printed until the third and final edition of Casaubon's letters in 1709. There are no fewer than twenty-two letters from Thomson to Casaubon, only one of which has been previously printed. The letters received by Casaubon were carefully collected and ordered by his son Meric, and as a consequence they are unusually well preserved.

The second largest group of letters is from Joseph Scaliger. Eleven letters from Scaliger to Thomson were first printed by Daniel Heinsius in 1627, and we have a single surviving letter from Thomson to Scaliger which has come to light only in recent years. Scaliger's celebrity ensured that many of his letters have been preserved; Thomson's reputation was not sufficient to save those he sent to Scaliger. All twelve letters were printed in the new edition of the correspondence of Scaliger in 2012, but since the publication of that edition a new manuscript has enabled the text of two of these letters to be significantly improved, and the evidence for the date of a further letter has now been expanded. The footnotes to these twelve letters have been revised and reoriented in the present edition.

There are in addition eight letters to Denis Perrot and seven letters to Bonventura Vulcanius, none of which have been printed before. There are two extant letters to Petrus Scriverius, one of which has never been printed, and a previously unpublished draft of a letter from Scriverius to Thomson. There is a letter from Thomson to Janus Dousa junior and one letter to Johannes de Laet,

1 See chapter 3, 'Germany 1587'.

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neither of which have been printed before. A single letter to William Camden, printed in 1691, has been edited here from the surviving autograph. One letter from Thomson to Dominicus Baudius, and one from Baudius to Thomson, are also edited here: both were repeatedly printed in Baudius' correspondence during the seventeenth century. An English letter from the playwright Thomas Tomkis, previously unpublished and likely to have been addressed to Thomson, is also edited below.

Editorial Principles and Conventions

The letters are arranged in chronological order. The headnotes to each letter include the letter title, the sources of the text, details of any surviving address, and an English synopsis. They may also include a discussion of the date and of the sources used to construct the text.

The title to each letter supplies, where possible, the date given to the letter by the sender; who sent it; where the sender was writing from; the recipient; and where the sender believed the recipient to be. All parts of this information which are inferred are placed within square brackets.

The address given to the letter by the sender is supplied where possible, even if it is fragmentary or has been recast by a later scribe or editor. Any notes on the envelope which relate to its delivery—such as details of postage costs or instructions for redirection—are also recorded.

Each letter is provided with an English synopsis of its contents. These synopses sometimes make explicit names and titles of works which are only implicit in the text of the letter. Greek passages which appear in the text of the letter are supplied with an English translation in the footnotes.

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The Text and Apparatus

Where the autograph is extant, the present edition is based on that manuscript. When only printed texts are extant, the text is based upon the *editio princeps*, unless otherwise stated. Where both manuscript copies and printed texts of the letter are extant, the preferred source, and the reasons for the preference, are discussed in the headnotes.

All abbreviations have been silently expanded. Thomson often abbreviates *litera*, *nunquam*, *quanquam*, and these have been expanded as *litera* (not *littera*), *nunquam* (not *numquam*), and *nunquid* (not *numquid*). He frequently abbreviates the word 'causa'. Where he writes this word in full, he always writes 'caussa' and this expansion has been adopted in all his letters. A small number of ambiguous abbreviations have been retained: 'cap.', for example, is preserved because it may stand for 'caput' or 'capitulum'. In Latin texts, the letter 'j' has been replaced by 'i', and the letters 'u' and 'v' have been normalised throughout. The orthography of dates written in Roman numerals has been modified: CIↃ IↃ (that is, 1500) is everywhere represented by M D. The spelling of the preferred source has not been modernised or standardised, but all texts have been repunctuated. Capitalisation, apostrophes, hyphenation, word boundaries and paragraphing are all regarded as aspects of punctuation and have been modernised accordingly.

All accents have been removed from Latin texts, and all passages of ancient Greek are accented according to modern conventions. The accentuation of Greek words and phrases which appear in Latin letters is more delicate. Greek words which are woven syntactically and semantically into the substance of Latin prose are accented as though the following text were also in Greek; but where the Greek words quoted are the focus of grammatical interest, they are accented as though they stood alone.

The following abbreviations and signs are used in the textual apparatus:

absc.	=	*abscidit*, damaged ms.	e.g. fortasse] forta[…] *absc.* LUB
i. m.	=	*in margine*	e.g. tandem *i. m.* OBL
om.	=	*omittit*	e.g. ego ipse] *om. s-1627*
\ /	=	*additum supra lineam*	e.g. quo \tempore/ te *PBnF*

Deleted letters are indicated by a line of cancellation: e.g. qu'il ~~vous~~ lui *PBnF*

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The extensive stylistic revisions made by Daniel Heinsius for his edition of Scaliger's letters printed in 1627 have necessitated the formulation of a more unusual *siglum*. Where, for example, the edited text reads: 'valet apud me oratio tua', the textual note reads 'valet *pp* tua *s-1627*'. Here, *pp* is an abbreviation for *postposuit*. It indicates that the edition of 1627 reads 'apud me oratio tua valet'.

Inventory of the Correspondence

1. Thomson (London) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden), 29 December 1591
   inc: Commodum accidit, clarissime Vulcani (pp. 154–156).
2. Thomson (London) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden), 7 May 1592
   inc: Literas tuas, vir clarissime (pp. 156–159).
3. Jacob Christmann (Heidelberg) to Thomson [Geneva], 13 June 1593
   inc: Quaestio elegans est (pp. 160–162).
4. Thomson (Frankfurt) to Janus Dousa junior (Leiden), 23 September 1593
   inc: Tandem ad vos redeo (pp. 162–164).
5. Thomson [Leiden] to Isaac Casaubon (Geneva), 27 December 1593
   inc: Augustus Venerem olim ἀναδυομένην (pp. 164–168).
6. Johannes Drusius [Franeker] to Thomson, [1594] (1)
   inc: O laetum nuncium (pp. 168–170).
7. Johannes Drusius [Franeker] to Thomson, [1594] (2)
   inc: Quo in statu res tuae (pp. 170–172).
8. Isaac Casaubon (Geneva) to Thomson [Leiden], 25 April 1594
   inc: Accusas silentium meum (pp. 173–178).
9. Thomson (Stade) to Isaac Casaubon (Geneva), 30 May 1594
   inc: Egon' ut te ludos (pp. 178–184).
10. Thomson (Stade) to Bonaventura Vulcanius [Leiden], 30 May 1594
    inc: Tandem ergo domum redii (pp. 185–186).
11. Thomson (Cambridge) to William Camden [London], 1 July 1594
    inc: Mitto ergo, ut convenerat (pp. 187–188).
12. Thomson (Cambridge) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden), 5 August 1594
    inc: Cantebrigiam ergo redii (pp. 188–190).
13. Isaac Casaubon (Geneva) to Thomson [Cambridge?], 11 October 1594
    inc: Si quid unquam mihi (pp. 190–192).
14. Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [London?], 20 December 1594
    inc: Scripsi ad te antea (pp. 192–195).
15. Thomson (London) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden), 4 February 1595
    inc: Feliciter, mi Vulcani! (pp. 195–197).
16. Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [London or Cambridge], 14 June 1595
    inc: Non licet mihi per (pp. 197–199).
17. Thomson (London) to Isaac Casaubon [Geneva], 9 August 1595
    inc: Literis licet novissimis pridem (pp. 199-203).

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18. Thomson [Oxford] to Isaac Casaubon [Geneva], 1 July 1596
The existence of this letter, which has not come to light, is derived from Casaubon to Thomson, 26 August 1596.
19. Isaac Casaubon (Geneva) to Thomson [London or Cambridge], 26 August 1596
inc: Diu exspectavi literas tuas (pp. 203–205).
20. Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier) to Thomson [Geneva], 1 January 1597
inc: Quas Lugduno ad te (pp. 205–207).
21. Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier) to Thomson [Geneva], 17 February 1597
inc: Binas iam a te accepi (pp. 207–209).
22. Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier) to Thomson [Geneva], 19 March 1597
inc: Ergo tu delicias facies? (pp. 209–211).
23. Thomson (Geneva) to Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier), 10 April 1597
inc: Egone ut te absente (pp. 211–215).
24. Thomson (Venice) to Isaac Casaubon [Montpellier], [1597, May–October?]
inc: Post scriptas tuas, mi doctissime (pp. 215–216).
25. Thomson (Florence) to Rudolf Simler (Zurich), 10 September 1598.
inc: Libenter ad te scribo (pp. 217–218).
26. Thomson (Florence) to Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier), 1 March 1599
inc: Ἀληθεί, ὦ φίλτατε (pp. 218–220).
27. The Fellows of Clare Hall (Cambridge) to Robert Cecil [London], 25 December 1599
inc: Our most humble dutyes (pp. 221–222).
28. Thomson (Cambridge) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden), 5 February 1600
inc: Glossaria tua, paucis abhinc (pp. 222–225).
29. Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London], 13 February [1600]
inc: Ita est ut scribis (pp. 225–226).
30. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Lyon), 28 February 1600
inc: Biennium fere est (pp. 227–229).
31. Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London], 1 March [1600]
inc: Ne tu nos ludos (pp. 229–231).
32. The Fellows of Clare Hall (Cambridge) to Robert Cecil [London], 6 March [1600]
inc: Multa extant et magna (pp. 231–232).
33. Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge], 5 July 1600
inc: Quum tuas postremas accepi (pp. 233–235).
34. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon [Lyon], 22 July 1600
inc: Quam gratae mihi fuerint (pp. 235–239).

35. Thomson (Cambridge) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden), 22 July 1600
inc: Agnosco negligentiam meam (pp. 239–242).
36. Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London], 22 July 1600
inc: Magno me mactasti gaudio (pp. 242–243).
37. Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London], 27 August 1600
inc: Accepi et tuas et Scaligeri (pp. 244–245).
38. Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge], 20 September 1600
inc: Ecce tibi quem tantopere (pp. 245–248).
39. Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London], 3 December 1600
inc: Photium meum cum literis (pp. 248–249).
40. Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [Cambridge], 26 December 1600
inc: Non dubito quin Photii (pp. 249–251).
41. Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London], *sine mense* 1601
inc: Ita tu nunquam de (pp. 252–253).
42. Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge], 18 January 1601
inc: Silentium istud tuum, amicorum (pp. 253–254).
43. Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot (London), 16 June [1601]
inc: Salve, mi Perotte, a Thomsono (p. 255).
44. Thomson (London) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 12 July 1601
inc: Non ita pridem est (pp. 256–257).
45. Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge], 16 July 1601
inc: Quamvis iste adolescens qui (pp. 257–261).
46. Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [London or Cambridge], 23 August 1601
inc: Quanta laetitia me affecerint (pp. 261–264).
47. Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London], 8 December 1601
inc: Ecce iterum Thomsonus properis (pp. 264–265).
48. Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge?], 13 January 1602
inc: Tertius, nec inficior, mensis (pp. 265–270).
49. Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge?], 4 February 1602
inc: Amicissime vir, per ego (pp. 270–274).
50. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 7 March 1602
inc: Binas a te literas accepi (pp. 274–277).
51. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 7 May 1602
inc: Non dubito quin pridem (pp. 277–279).
52. Thomson (Cambridge) to Joseph Scaliger (Leiden), 7 March 1603
inc: Literas tuas, domine, quas (pp. 279–280).
53. Thomson (Cambridge) to Petrus Scriverius (Leiden), 1 June 1603
inc: Occupatissimus sum in alieno (pp. 280–282).
54. Petrus Scriverius [Leiden] to Thomson [England?], [c. 1604]
inc: Tuam fidem, mi Thomsoni (pp. 282–284).

55. Thomson (London) to Petrus Scriverius (Leiden), 30 June 1604
inc: Bis ad illustrissimum Scaligerum (pp. 285–287).
56. Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge?], 9 August 1604
inc: Postremis tuis iam respondi (pp. 287–289).
57. Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge], 25 November [1604?]
inc: Iamdudum ad tuas postremas (pp. 289–293).
58. Thomson (Cambridge) to Dominicus Baudius (Leiden), 27 July 1605
inc: Literas tuas et Drusii fasciculum (pp. 293–296).
59. Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [Cambridge], 3 September 1605
inc: De responso ad Trihaeresion (pp. 296–300).
60. Thomson [Cambridge] to Isaac Casaubon [Paris], November 1605
The existence of this letter, returned to Thomson undelivered, is derived from Thomson to Casaubon, 10 June 1606.
61. Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [Cambridge?], 1 December 1605
inc: Accepi tuas literas, sed (pp. 300–304).
62. Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge?], 14 March 1606
inc: Commentarium Zonarae in Canones (pp. 304–307).
63. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 10 June 1606
inc: Nisi iustas caussas non (pp. 307–310).
64. Thomson (Cambridge) to Johannes de Laet [London], 10 June 1606
inc: Antiquum, ut vides, obtineo (pp. 310–312).
65. Johannes de Laet [Amsterdam] to Thomson [Cambridge], 19 June 1606
The existence of this letter, which has not come to light, is derived from Thomson to De Laet, 10 June 1606.
66. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 15 July 1606
inc: Heu quanta de spe (pp. 312–314).
67. Thomson (Suffolk) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 21 July 1607
inc: Vide quam inique mecum (pp. 314–319).
68. Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge?], 1 October 1607
inc: Tandem optatissimas literas tuas (pp. 319–324).
69. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 13 December 1607
inc: Non dubito quin plane (pp. 324–327).
70. Thomson (London) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 15 April 1608
inc: Literas tuas quas postremis (pp. 327–329).
71. Dominicus Baudius (Leiden) to Thomson (Cambridge), 5 May 1608
inc: Quanquam non admodum opera (pp. 329–332).
72. Thomson (Suffolk) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 24 May 1608
inc: Nudius tertius prolixas et bene (pp. 332–335).
73. Thomson (Suffolk) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 7 July 1608
inc: Extremo Iunio ternas ad te (pp. 335–337).

74. Thomson (Suffolk?) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 31 December [1608]
inc: Literas tuas et aureolum (pp. 338–340).
75. Isaac Casaubon [Paris] to Thomson, 10 July 1609
The existence of this letter, which has not come to light, is derived from Thomson to Casaubon, 5 August 1609.
76. Thomson (Norfolk) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 5 August 1609
inc: Literas quas a. d. VI Eid. Quintilis (pp. 340–342).
77. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris), 21 October 1609
inc: Literae tuae, quas una (pp. 343–345).
78. Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge?], 28 December 1609
inc: Gavisus sum non displicuisse (pp. 345–348).
79. Thomas Tomkis [Paris] to [Thomson] [Cambridge], 20 January [1610]
inc: You are often remembred (pp. 348–349).
80. Thomson (London) to Thomas Jermyn, 21 June 1611
inc: Mitto tibi, domine, adventus (pp. 349–350).
81. Thomson (Bury) to Isaac Casaubon (Downham), 21 August 1611
inc: Hodie hac ipsa hora (pp. 351–352).
82. Isaac Casaubon [London] to Thomson [Cambridge], 25 October 1611
The existence of this letter, which has not come to light, is derived from Thomson to Casaubon, 18 November 1611.
83. Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (London), 18 November 1611
inc: Literas tuas quas una (pp. 352–354).

List of Correspondents

Thomson is known to have corresponded with the following men. For some of these figures, however, no letters are extant.

Aubry, Jean
Baudius, Dominicus
Camden, William
Casaubon, Isaac
Cecil, Robert
Christmann, Jacob
Dousa, Janus, junior
Drusius, Johannes, senior
Gruter, Jan
Jermyn, Thomas
Laet, Johannes de
Perrot, Denis
Raphelengius, Franciscus, senior
Scaliger, Joseph
Scriverius, Petrus
Simler, Rudolf
Stendal, Christoph
Tomkis, Thomas
Vulcanius, Bonaventura

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The Letters

Thomson (London) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden) 29 December 1591

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: I, fol. 1r.

DATE: Dates in the Kalends of January are potentially ambiguous: see the general introduction to Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 1, p. lviii. The references to Estienne's edition of Cassius Dio, and to Vulcanius' edition of *De mundo*, confirm that the present letter is of 1591.

ADDRESS: Clarissimo Viro / B. Vulcanio praeceptori / observando / Lugdun. Batavorum.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson was glad to find Dekker in London, for he brought news that Vulcanius is well. Vulcanius may send the material relating to Philo via Raphelengius or via Middelburg. In return, Thomson will send any books Vulcanius wants from England. Thomson has read Vulcanius' fine edition of *De mundo* and collated it with his copies of Apuleius and Aristotle. Vulcanius should edit Aristotle and Theophrastus. Whitaker recently expressed a desire to persuade Vulcanius to publish the works of Nilus, and, in Whitaker's absence, Thomson urges the same. Estienne, who recently published Cassius Dio, prints nothing worthy of his reputation. Thomson is collating his own manuscript of Isidore with Vulcanius' edition. He sends his regards to Ramsay. He will soon reply to Raphelengius: meanwhile, Vulcanius should ask him to print Hopkinson's *Paradisus*.

Richardus Thomson clarissimo B. Vulcanio suo s. d.

Commodum accidit, clarissime Vulcani, ut Deckerum hic Londini offenderem.[1] Nam haesitanti mihi et multum de te dubitanti εὐαγγέλια attulit, quippe et valere te, et nostri memorem significavit.[2]

5 De Φilone etiam quod volebam, quaeso te mittendum cura.[3] Potes per

1 This is Conrad Decker, for whom see section 5, 'England, 1591–May 1592'.

2 Εὐαγγέλια: 'good news'.

3 Thomson presumably refers to Philo Judaeus, a Hellenised Jewish philosopher active in the first century AD. The document requested by Thomson has not been identified.

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Raphelengium, potes item via Middelburgensi.[4] Ego me, ut semper, vicissim tibi in omni officio obstringo. Si quid librorum ex Anglia voles, fideliter et sedulo curabo.

Mundum tuum, vir clarissime, pellegi, et cum Aristotele meo et Apuleio diligenter contuli.[5] Non scribam quam alii te laudarint; ego dicam hoc saltem: plus lucis attulisse ad Aristotelis meteorologica intelligenda quam omnes omnium commentarii quos sane plurimos legi et prolixos. Ago gratias, et uti de Aristotele aut Theophrasto mereri pergas, obnixe rogo.

Whitakero cum nuper adessem et de te tuisque studiis iniicerem nonnulla, simulque quam prodesse poteris ecclesiae et reipublicae literariae, si occasiones commodae darentur, stetit diu mirabundus.[6] Tandem rogavit numquid te nosse penitius; velle enim se perscribere ad te, et rogare publico ecclesiae nomine Nili editionem, vel Lugduni apud vos, aut hic in Anglia.[7] Putat ille nihil Nilo isto utilius abs te edi posse, aut laudabilius. Quare interim dum ille abest ego obnixe rogo ut ea de re aliquantulum sed serio cogites, simulque ea de re nos certiores facias. Vulcani sumus in fide.[8] Nam Stephanus nihil dignum Stephano.[9] Dionem tamen nuper nobis dedit.[10] Tu illa potes re, quae alii vix somnio. Quare perge, quaeso, mi Vulcani.[11]

12 publico] *sic* LUB 13 vel … Anglia] *i. m.* LUB

4 Thomson probably refers to Franciscus Raphelengius senior (1539–1597), who ran the Leiden branch of the Plantin Press after the death of Christophe Plantin in 1589.

5 Thomson has read Vulcanius' recent edition: *Aristoteles De mundo, graece: cum duplici interpretatione latina, priore quidem L. Apulei, altera vero Guilielmi Budaei. Cum scholiis et castigationibus Bonaventurae Vulcanii …. Accessit seorsim Gregorii Cyprii, Encomium maris, graece … et Pauli Silentiarii iambica*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana apud F. Raphelengium, 1591. The pseudo-Aristotelian *De mundo* is extant in a Latin translation attributed to Apuleius.

6 For Whitaker, theologian and Master of St John's College Cambridge from 1585, see C.S. Knighton, 'Whitaker, William (1547/8–1595)', ODNB, 2004, 58, pp. 517–521. This conversation probably took place in Cambridge.

7 The phrase seems to mean 'in the name of the Church of England'. 'Lugduni' refers to Leiden, 'Lugdunum Batavorum', not to Lyon. I know of no extant letters from Whitaker to Vulcanius.

8 Thomson alludes playfully to Catullus, *Carmina*, 34.1: 'Dianae sumus in fide'.

9 Thomson refers to Henri II d'Estienne (1528–1598), Isaac Casaubon's father in law. For his editions see J. Kecskeméti et al., *La France des humanistes: Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain*, Turnhout, 2003.

10 *Dionis Cassii Romanarum historiarum libri XXV, ex Guilielmi Xylandri interpretatione*, [Geneva], H. Stephanus, 1591.

11 Vulcanius edited and translated Nilus a few years later: *Nili archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis*

Isidorum scriptum habeo.[12] Incepi contendere cum tuo: si quid discriminis, scibis.[13] Nolo enim ego in iis mustaceum.[14]

Vale et omnes saluta, etiam dominus Rampseus.[15] Raphelengio paullo post rescribam; interim Hopkinsoni *Paradisus* ut edat meo nomine roga.[16]

Londini, IV Kal. Ianuarii anno 91.

Ignosce quod tam familiariter et properanter: alias accurate.

Thomson (London) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden) 7 May 1592

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: I, fol. 2$^{r–v}$.

ADDRESS: Clarissimo Viro / Bonaventurae Vul / canio Graecae linguae pro / fessori doctissimo / Lugduni Bata / vorum. / int huys van Lockhorst.

NOTE: The final words of the address are a Dutch addition in a different hand, specifying Vulcanius' house.

SYNOPSIS: Harderet delivered Vulcanius' letter. Thomson will be in Germany this summer, at the request of his elderly father. Vulcanius' imminent visit to England is eagerly anticipated. Thom-

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de primatu Papae Romani libri duo, ex Bibliotheca Vaticana. B. Vulcanio interprete. His accessit De igne purgatorio liber singularis: eodem interprete, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595.

12 Thomson's manuscript has not been identified.

13 Thomson seems to intend Vulcanius' edition of Isidore's *Origines* (*Etymologiae*), published some years before: *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Originum libri viginti ex antiquitate eruti. Et Martiani Capellae de nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii libri novem. Uterque, praeter Fulgentium et veteres grammaticos variis lectionibus et scholiis illustratus opera … B. Vulcanii*, Basle, [1577]. However, given Vulcanius' interest in the Goths, Thomson may refer to Isidore's *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*.

14 Compare Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.20.4: 'Laureolam in mustaceo quaerere', to look for a laurel wreath in a cake; that is, to look for fame from trivial matters. Thomson's allusion to this well-worn proverb is very elliptical.

15 For Ramsay, see chapter 4, 'Leiden, 1588–1591?'.

16 Franciscus Raphelengius did publish this short work: John Hopkinson, *Synopsis Paradisi sive Paradisi descriptio*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1593. It was dedicated by John Johnston, a Scot, to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury: see chapter 4, 'Leiden, 1588–1591?'. No letters between Thomson and Raphelengius survive.

son is surprised by the work of Clement of Alexandria in the catalogue of the Frankfurt bookfair. He once mentioned to his English friends that Vulcanius had Canter's notes on Clement. Sylburg is not as learned as Canter. Thomson's friends thought that Vulcanius might have contributed to the work of his old friend Canter. Vulcanius should edit some of the many neglected Greek works. Lernutius has paid the ransom and Vulcanius will see him soon. Vulcanius should send his reply to Stade. Thomson sends his regards to Hospita and Ramsay; Downes and Overall send theirs to Vulcanius.

Richardus Thomson clarissimo viro Bonaventurae Vulcanio s. p.

Literas tuas, vir clarissime, Harderetius noster tradidit et salutem.[1] Debeo hoc nomine tibi plurimum, et utinam aliquando occasio declarandi! Nam ne in Anglia fiat hac aestate (quod toto pectore sum precatus) facit subitanea haec in Germaniam profectio, iussu parentis instituta; quippe qui coram videre me omnino cupit, senex iam et aetate provecta.[2] Et nihil est cur ego id non cupiam, et velle debeam, praesertim cum de vitae et studiorum meorum curriculo res cernatur,[3] nisi unicum hoc: quod te hic ardenter omnes expectemus. Ne mutaveris sodes animum et sententiam—scio et spondeo hoc tibi, vir clarissime—nunquam itineris suscepti paenitebit. Multi et docti sane tui studiosissimi, et qui id valde volunt, quorum ut votis satisfacias equidem honestum et pulcrum censeo.[4]

Novi quod scribam, Hercle, nihil. In catalogo nundinarum miror de Clemente Alexandrino.[5] Nam, nisi fallor, nescio quid de Canteri notis ad eum abs

11 pulcrum] *sic* LUB

1 Harderetius must be the 'Isaacus Herderet Argimontanus' (that is, of Montargis) who matriculated in Law at Leiden 18 March 1591 (*Album Studiosorum* of Leiden, 1875, col. 29). It appears that he reached London in the spring of 1592, carrying letters from Vulcanius, including one for Thomson. When Harderet wrote to Vulcanius from London on 1 April, Thomson had yet to reply: 'A Thomsono nullus adhuc habui' (Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105:1).

2 The subject of 'fiat' is 'occasio'. For Thomson's father, see chapter 1, 'Early Life'.

3 Thomson may allude to his father's financial support for his studies.

4 Vulcanius never visited England.

5 The work in question appeared the same year: *Clementis Alexandrini opera quae exstant. Diversae lectiones et emendationes ... additae ... opera Friderici Sylburgii*, [Heidelberg], ex

te acceptum nostris hic olim dixeram. Expectabamus eas avide, et spem hanc decolasse dolemus. Nam quid caussae subesse putemus? Certe doctus est Sylburgius, et linguae peritus; non tamen ille Canterus est.[6] Quanquam cum ego hoc nostris significarem, ipsi te quoque isti operi mulcendo adhibuisse manus credebant, propter illam quam inter vos amicitiam.

Sed haec pridem fuere. Nunc quid dicam? Nisi vetus hoc, quod omnium doctorum in votis est, ut pergas bene mereri de literis, et labentem hanc aetatem erigere. Multi Graeci adhuc iacent squallidi, et iacebunt fortean nisi tu eorum misereare; quo in omine libenter desino.

Vale, vir clarissime, et me ama qui te aeternum. Lernutius λύτρον solvit, quare eum expectetis propediem affuturum.[7] Utinam mihi occasio compellandi hominem, quem ita Musae amavere! Iterum vale et vive. Si quid dignabere rescribere, Stadae prope Hamburgum apud parentem ero.

Londini, ex a. d. Non. Maii M D XCII.

D. Hospitae, caeterisque amicis omnibus salutem dico.[8] Etiam domino Rampsaeo.[9] Salutant te Dounesius, Overall, et caeteri.[10] Vale.

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2 est[1]] *forte* LUB

typographeio H. Commelini, 1592. Thomson refers to the announcement in the catalogue of the spring bookfair in Frankfurt: *Catalogus novus nundinarum vernalium, Francoforti ad Moenum anno M.D.LXXXXII celebratarum*, Frankfurt, Peter Schmidt, 1592, sig. F2r.

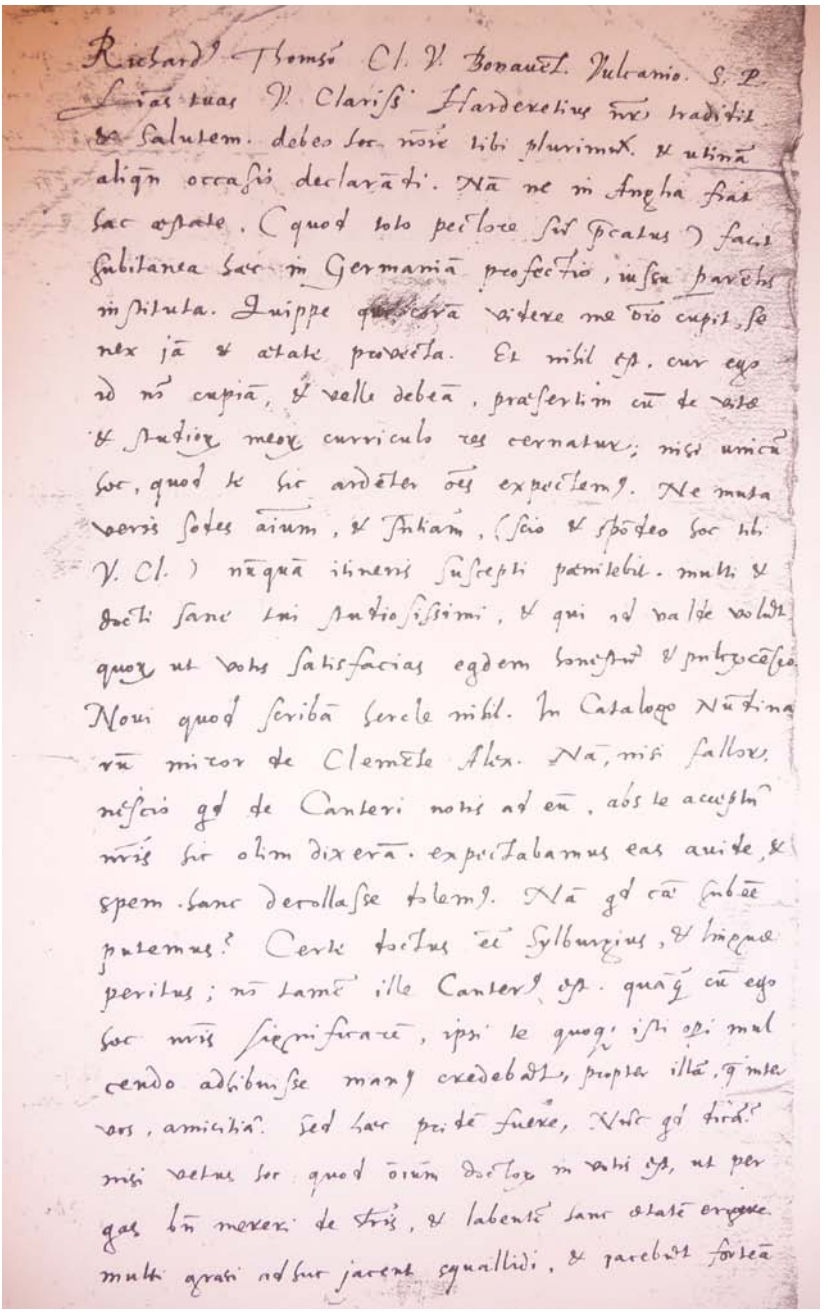
6 Thomson seems to refer to Willem Canter (1542–1575), for whom see Van der Aa, 3, 1858, C, pp. 119–121; ADB, 1876, 3, pp. 766–767; NNBW, 1911–1937, 1, col. 560. For Sylburg (1536–1596), see J.G. Jungius, *Vita Friderici Sylburgii, Wetterani Hassi, polyhistoris quondam magni*, Berleburg, 1745; ADB, 1894, 37, pp. 282–285.

7 Λύτρον: 'ransom'. Janus Lernutius, a poet. He was released from prison in July: see R. van Crombruggen, *Janus Lernutius (1545–1619): Een biografische studie*, Brussels, 1955, pp. [62–68]; J. De Landtsheer and J. Kluyskens, eds, *Iusti Lipsii epistolae. Pars V: 1592*, Brussels, 1991, p. 282.

8 Thomson sent his regards to Hospita in four letters to Vulcanius, dated 30 May 1594, 5 August 1594, 4 February 1595 and 22 July 1600.

9 For Ramsay, see Thomson's letter to Vulcanius of 29 December 1591, and chapter 4, 'Leiden, 1588–1591?'.

10 For Downes, see E. Leedham-Green and N.G. Wilson, 'Downes, Andrew (c. 1549–1628)', ODNB, 2004, 16, pp. 791–792; for Overall, see N.W.S. Cranfield, 'Overall, John (bap. 1561, d. 1619)', ODNB, 2004, 42, pp. 149–151.



Thomson to Bonaventura Vulcanius, 7 May 1592 (*Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: 1, fol. 2r*).

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Jacob Christmann (Heidelberg) to Thomson [Geneva] 13 June 1593

PRINT: Christmann, *Disputatio de anno, mense, et die passionis dominicae: in qua calendarium Hebraeorum iuxta proprios Canones confirmatur, et solemnitates mensium paschatumque universae ad veras epochas restituuntur*, Frankfurt, apud Io. Wecheli relictam viduam, sumptibus Petri Kopffii, 1593, sigs A2r–A3v.

SYNOPSIS: It is important to determine the precise date of the crucifixion. The ancient sources make it clear that it fell in the spring of the year 78 of the calendar established by Julius Caesar. This information must be supplemented by knowledge of the Jewish calendar, from which it appears that the crucifixion took place on 3 April. Christmann dedicates his work to Thomson because he is well read and a student of oriental languages. Christmann also knows that Thomson is of good character, having accommodated Thomson and Gorzen for six months. During this time, Christmann often discussed chronology with Thomson. He now wishes him a safe return to England, and success in his future career. He sends his regards to Henry Savile, with whom he spent time in Bratislava in 1581.

Ornatissimo viro domino Richardo Tomson Anglo suo Iacobus Christmannus s.

Quaestio elegans est et necessaria, Richarde doctissime, quo anno et quo mense dieve Christus servator noster passus fuerit. Ex hac enim diligenter declarata refutari possunt errores, qui non modo propter contemtum syncerae antiquitatis, verumetiam propter depravatam temporum multorum collationem orti fuerunt.

Ut autem proposita quaestio ex certis historiarum monumentis stabiliatur, et secundam veritatis normam decidatur, in primis animadvertendum est, quid nobis antiquitas de anno passionis dominicae scriptum reliquerit, et qua ratione characteres assignati inter se conveniant.[1] Nam accepimus dominum

5 contemtum] *sic 1593*

1 Christmann uses the word 'characteres' in a technical sense, to indicate unequivocal markers in chronology. The word was first used in this sense by Joseph Scaliger: see Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, Paris, apud Mamertum Patissonium, 1583, p. 14.

nostrum passum esse anno XVIII imperii Tiberii,[2] concurrente anno quarto Olympiadis CCII, et ineunte anno XXXIIII ab incarnatione. A quibus temporum indicibus ego nullo modo deflectendum esse arbitror, quin potius in hoc incumbendum, ut consensum eorum intelligamus, et fideliter traditis adhaereamus; quod ubi fecerimus, certo constabit passionem dominicam incidisse primo vere, labente anno 78 Iuliano.[3]

Licet autem hoc sit magnum praesidium ad veritatis inquisitionem, non tamen inde penitus tempus passionis dominicae percipi poterit, nisi adhibeatur calendarium Hebraeorum. Huius enim ductu lunatio paschalis investigatur, et dies III Aprilis, respondens decimoquinto mensis Nisan, passioni salutari consecratur. Quid vero accedet, si calendarium Hebraeorum pro arbitrio nostro luxemus, et a consuetudine inter Iudaeos ubique terrarum recepta recedamus? Longissime absit ut id in animum inducamus. Non enim ex nostro iudicio pendebit universa gens Iudaeorum, neque ratum habebit quod nos contra omnem auctoritatem ac tot seculorum experientiam, invitis omnibus, obtrudere conabimur. Dementes etiam fuerimus, si non videamus quanta incommoda sequantur luxationem calendarii Hebraeorum; etenim si connexionem annorum et enneadecaëteridum turbare aggrediamur, a vero mense et die passionis dominicae plurimum aberrabimus, et in contextum diversi anni transeuntes, ea quae vere de anno passionis ab antiquis auctoribus scripta fuerunt, mendacii insimulabimus, aut contorta expositione depravabimus. Has ob causas, manendum est in tekuphis Iulianis, quae in computo Hebraeorum pro fundamento supponuntur;[4] retinenda etiam usitata annorum connexio; ac tandem epochae noviluniorum suis in locis statuendae sunt; quae omnia, nisi summa fide et diligentia curemus, nunquam tempus passionis ita designabimus, ut in eo mens nostra tuto acquiescere possit.

Cum igitur persuasum habeam, Richarde optime, te rerum divinarum ac humanarum nec non linguarum orientalium studiosissimum esse, ac in scriptis criticorum nostri seculi feliciter versari, praetermittere nolui quin tibi disputationem meam animo benevolo dedicatam offerrem. Accedit huc, quod probitatem et candorem morum tuorum ex familiari conversatione perspexerim. Cum enim per totum semestre in aedibus meis, una cum domino Arnoldo Gor-

2 Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, was Emperor from 14 AD until 37 AD.

3 That is, seventy-eight years after Julius Caesar instituted his reformed calendar. The first Julian Year began in 45 BC.

4 'Tekupha' is a transliteration of תקוּפָה. See Maimonides' definition of this technical term of Jewish chronology: *The Code of Maimonides, Book Three, Treatise Eight, Sanctification of the New Moon*, tr. and ed. S. Gandz et al., New Haven, 1956, p. 159.

zen, habitares,[5] summa modestia et diligentia studiis tuis tractatis, non raro de chronologicis sermonem mecum contulisti, et cum calendarium Palaestinorum Hebraice Venetiis editum tibi exhiberem,[6] aperte cernere potuisti quam male illud a quibusdam intellectum ad sensum alienum detorqueatur; ut palam profitereris, inscribendis historiis, et potissimum mathematicis, oportere laborem cum fidelitate et iusta methodo coniungi, alias improbum laborem posteritati parum profuturum.

Accipe igitur quae damus fronte serena, et memoriam mei ex animo tuo nunquam depone. Et quia nunc in Angliam abitum paras, in qua prius per sexennium literis humanioribus operam navasti, faustum tibi precor iter, Deumque aeternum patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi rogo ut in posterum te omni donorum cumulo augeat, quo ecclesiae et reipublicae diutissime praeesse queas. Felicissime vale, et meo nomine saluta nobilissimum virum Henricum Savile, cum quo multis mensibus in urbe Vratislaviensi, labente anno aerae Christianae 1581, amicissime vixi.[7]

Ex musaeo meo, Idibus Iunii, feria quarta, anno salutis 1593, die 23 mensis Siuan, currente anno Iudaico 5353 a creatione mundi; et die 23 mensis Ramadhan, iuxta usum Arabum et Turcorum, labente anno Hegirae millesimo primo.

Thomson (Frankfurt) to Janus Dousa junior (Leiden) 23 September 1593

AUTOGRAPH: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 98r.
ADDRESS: Nobilissimo iuveni / Iano Dousae amico optimo. Lugduni Batavorum.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson is returning to Leiden, now that he has learned that Scaliger is there. He must travel via his father's house in Sax-

5 For Gorzen, and for this period in Heidelberg, see chapter 6, 'Germany, May 1592–April 1593'.

6 Christmann published his translation of this work the following year: *Calendarium Palaestinorum et universorum Iudaeorum, ad annos quadraginta supputatum. Auctore Rabbi Ori filio Simeonis, Iudeo Palaestino. Nunc primum ex sermone Hebraeo in Latinum conversum, ac scholiis utilibus, maximeque necessariis illustratum. Per I. Christmannum*, Frankfurt, apud Ioan. Wecheli relictam viduam, impensis Petri Kopffii, 1594. Christmann's dedication to Heinrich Rantzau is dated 1 January 1594. It has an *Appendix in qua canones Rabbi Nahasson de festis et lectionibus sacris ordinandis traduntur*.

7 This information about Henry Savile seems not to be widely known.

ony. He deeply regrets his friendship with Christmann, who has dedicated his nonsense to him. Thomson's loyalties are to Scaliger. But such are the habits of modern critics, who set themselves against the sun so that they may shine with borrowed light. Thomson thinks them more like comets, whose brief light is soon extinguished. He sends his regards to Vulcanius, Raphelengius, and others.

Richardus Thomson nobilissimo Iano Dousae suo s.

Tandem ad vos redeo, oculissime Dousa, postquam termaximum Scaligerum apud vos esse certo cognovi.[1] Nam illum, Hercle, Italiae et Austriae facile protulerim![2] Quanquam recta in Batavorum non possum: per Saxoniam, ubi parens habet, transeundum est. Quare obnixe te rogo uti eam gratiam mihi facias, et de statu vestro paucula ad me scribas: victus, et apud quos praecipuum. Nam hoc votum doctiorum: alieni convivere; quam ego viam, ut potui, semper institi.[3]

In Germania tamen Christmanno convixisse inter praecipua mea mala numero.[4] Hinc factum ut absenti mihi et invito (Deum optimum maximum testem laudo) nugas suas inscriberet, quas ego malo modo periisse velim, tam abest ut patronus audire cupiam.[5] Scaligero enim et patri et filio, iam olim positis aris, sacra facio. Sed illa est lunaticorum hodie hominum consuetudo, ut nisi se soli illi opponant, splendorem nullum recipiant. Quanquam ego cometis potius similes arbitror, qui, dum tempus est, illustrantur aliquandiu; paullo post tamen ad fumum redeunt. Quare, mi Dousa, ita habe, et ita de Richardo tuo puta, devotissimum illum esse, fuisse, fore, magnis illis principibus quos

4 recta] *sic PBnF* 5 habet] *sic PBnF*

1 Thomson matriculated in Leiden on 31 December 1593: see chapter 9, 'Leiden, December 1593–May 1594'.

2 Thomson had recently been in Geneva ('Austria') and had evidently been thinking of visiting Italy.

3 This appears to be a joke between students.

4 Jacob Christmann (1554–1613), for whom see ADB, 1876, 4, p. 222. Thomson is worried that Christmann has poisoned his potential relationship with Scaliger. Scaliger seems to have put his mind at rest: see Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 27 December 1593. Scaliger wrote to Thomson about Christmann some years later: see Scaliger to Thomson, 1 December 1605.

5 Christmann published a work on the calendar which was critical of Scaliger at Frankfurt in 1593, and dedicated it to Thomson: see Christmann to Thomson, 13 June 1593.

nisi honorifice appellare non debemus; et, si occasio, eo nomine me illis commenda. Caetera, ubi ad vos venerim; quod eo citius futurum est, quo tu citius literas ad me mittes.[6] Id amice te rogo.

Vale, mi oculissime, et vive, aut ne ego. Salutem plurimam dico clarissimo Vulcanio, Raphelengio et caeteris.

Francofurti, M D XCIII, IX Cal. Octobris.

Thomson [Leiden] to Isaac Casaubon (Geneva) 27 December 1593

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 235$^{r–v}$.

DATE: Dates in the Kalends of December are potentially ambiguous: see the general introduction to Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 1, p. lviii. That the year is 1593 is confirmed by the fact that this letter is answered by Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 25 April 1594. Casaubon had received the present letter by 4 March 1594, for on that day he wrote to Scaliger: 'literas a Thomsone meo accepi, quibus et se aiebat salutem tibi meis verbis nuntiasse et tuo me nomine vicissim salutabat' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 367).

TEXT: This letter still has Thomson's seal attached. The postscript is on the verso.

ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / Professeur en / Grec. / À / Geneve.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has reached Leiden safely by ship, and Scaliger has put his mind at rest with regard to Christmann's work. Scaliger was pleased to receive Casaubon's edition of Theophrastus' *Characters*, and already thought highly of their editor. Thomson hopes soon to achieve what he discussed with Casaubon. He wishes that Casaubon may one day come to Leiden. Bongars is in Leiden: Thomson saw him yesterday. Vulcanius has given Thomson a manuscript of the *Characters* to read. Thomson has acquired from Leipzig two books on Casaubon's list, and will try to get others from Antwerp. Scaliger's work on squaring the circle is to be published, Vulcanius is prepar-

6 No letters from Dousa to Thomson have come to light.

ing an edition of Agathias, and some work by Chrétien is being printed. Scaliger looks forward to Casaubon's editions of Epictetus and Suetonius. Thomson hopes that Casaubon may enable him to consult Estienne's copy of Sextus Empiricus. Scaliger denies that he is Yvo Viliomarus, but would like Casaubon to publish something against Titius. Thomson sends his regards to Casaubon's family, to Chevalier, and others. Vulcanius has a manuscript of Procopius' *On Buildings*, of which only an epitome has appeared in print.

Richardus Thomson clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo s. p.

Augustus Venerem olim ἀναδυομένην, tu, clarissime Casaubone, φιλίαν dedicate.[1] Richardus enim tuus ἀνεδύετο κῦμα θαλάσσης, quanquam vix διερῷ ποδί.[2] Misericordiae tamen Domini quod Lugdunum salvus venerim, ubi Scaligero toto fruor.[3] Dii boni, quanto viro, quam humano! Nam nubeculam illam quam ex Christmani scriptione animum meum obduxerat, sol ille literarius facile discussit.[4] Gratulare mihi, obsecro.

Characteres tuos illi cum officiosissima salute obtuli.[5] Nam expectare literas tuas non videbatur consultum. Gratum illi munus, quod certe vultu serenissimo sumit, et verbis palam testatus est, cum te iam pridem amare se diceret propter summam et incomparabilem (forma fere verborum est) tuam erudi-

10 sumit] *conieci ex* ondit LBL

1 The reference is to a celebrated picture by Apelles of Venus rising (ἀναδυομένην) from the sea. It was dedicated by Augustus in the temple of his adoptive father Julius Caesar: see Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.36.15.

2 Homer, *Iliad*, 1.496: ἀνεδύσατο κῦμα θαλάσσης, [Thetis] 'rose from the wave of the sea'. For διερῷ ποδί, 'with nimble foot', see *Odyssey*, 9.43. The allusions indicate that Thomson travelled by ship. He may have had a difficult journey by sea: storms on 15 December 1593 had sunk a number of merchant ships from Middelburg in the Thames (letter from George Lowe in Stade to John Quarles in London, Kew, National Archives, SP 46/176, fol. 19).

3 That is, Lugdunum Batavorum, or Leiden, not Lyon.

4 For Thomson's fear that Christmann had soured his relationship with Scaliger, see Thomson to Dousa junior, 23 September 1593.

5 *Theophrasti Characteres ethici .... Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, in Latinum sermonem vertit et libro commentario illustravit*, Lyon, apud Franciscum Le Preux, 1592. Casaubon's annotated copy of this edition is now London, British Library, shelfmark 525.a.10. Casaubon's Theophrastus is mentioned prominently in Scaliger's first letter to Casaubon of 7 May 1594: Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 384–386.

tionem. 'Magnae', inquit δεικτικῶς, 'spes altera Romae'.[6] Equidem, Casaubone clarissime, ita omnino statuas velim, hominem te illi Semoni amicum, quem utinam aliquando coram cognoscas, et spero. Nam totus iam in eo sum quod secreti in meo cubiculo garriebamus olim (eheu, olim!) et (supercilium iam salit)[7] paullo post spero scripturum me vetus illud: 'veni, vidi, vici'.[8] Rogantibus enim de te, tu scis, scio quid respondeam. Non est mei pudoris ista hic recensere. Obnixe enim te amo, et merito, quem omnino humanissimum sum expertus. O dies illa illucescat, quando praesens praesentem, amans amantem, te complexus animi mentem in sinu tuo effundam! Utinam, quod amici suadent, aliquando huc Scaligeri etc. visendi caussa visas! Posses puto commode. Utinam interim Richardus tuus![9]

Hic est etiam, ne nescias, clarissimus Bongars, sed in literis quas ea de re ad amicum scripsit.[10] Illi heri adfui, cras profecturus in aulam ea gratia. Vulcanius, quae ipsius in me est semper humanitas, inter alia manuscripta etiam *Characteres* dono dedit legendos; in quibus si quid erit, scibis.[11] E libris tuis duos paravi Lipsia; reliquos videro an possim Antuerpia.[12] Cupio enim promovere tua studia hoc modo, cum alioquin non possim, quae scio cum bono publico esse coniuncta. Tu tamen hoc negocii dato mercatoribus, ut si quid pecuniolae opus fuerit, rescribant. Scaliger dabit *De circuli quadratura* libros.[13]

5 veni ... vici] veni, v.v. *LBL* 13 cras] *correxi ex* clas *LBL* 15 dono dedit] dd *LBL*

6 Vergil, *Aeneid*, 12.168. Δεικτικῶς: Thomson may mean that Scaliger indicated Casaubon's book to his audience, but Thomson probably means that Scaliger spoke with emphasis and animation.

7 Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 3872: 'supercilium salit'.

8 Attributed to Julius Caesar (Plutarch, *Caesar*, 50; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 37).

9 This passage refers obliquely to a plan to find Casaubon a position in Leiden: see chapter 9, 'Leiden, December 1593–May 1594'.

10 For the French ambassador Jacques Bongars, see H. Hagen, *Jacobus Bongarsius: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gelehrten Studien des 16.–17. Jahrhunderts*, Bern, 1874; V. Neeracher, *Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der Gelehrtenbibliothek des Jakob Bongars, 1554–1612: Teilarbeit*, [no place], 1969; R. Kohlndorfer-Fries, *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik: die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jacques Bongars (1554–1612)*, Tübingen, 2009.

11 This manuscript given by Vulcanius to Thomson has not been identified.

12 This appears to refers to a list of books which Casaubon probably given to Thomson while he was in Geneva: see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594, and Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594.

13 The work appeared the following year: *I. Scaligeri Iul. Caes. f. Cyclometrica elementa duo ad illustres nobiliss. ampliss. Hollandiae, Westfrisiae et Zeelandiae Ordines*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1594.

Vulcanius Agathiam historicum parat.[14] Florentis etiam Christiani quaedam eduntur.[15]

Et tu, anime mi, quid confers? Epictetum tuum valde expectat Scaliger, et Suetonium, quae omnia promisi.[16] Quid? Face, quaeso, ne imposuisse et lactasse illum videar. Curabis mihi mittendum exemplum tuorum per eum qui tuas curabit. Nam ubi futurus sum proxima aestate, Ille sciet, non ego iam. Utinam aliquando manticuleris Empiricum Stephani, et ego tuum quovis precio habeam![17] Potin' es me iuvare, clarissime Casaubone? Valde spero. Nam ibi demum ausim aliquid audere.[18] Et iuva, si potes: ego omnia tua caussa volo. Scaliger Yvonem se esse iureiurando negavit, et tamen obnixe rogat ut (quae voluisti dicere me) contra ipsum R. Titium aliquid ederes.[19] Futurum ipsi loco maximi beneficii. Ille enim totus in mathesi est.

1 etiam] *forte* LBL

14 Vulcanius, ed. *Agathiae ... De imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani Imperatoris libri quinque, Graece nunquam antehac editi. Ex bibliotheca et interpretatione Bonaventurae Vulcanii, cum notis eiusdem. Accesserunt ... Agathiae Epigrammata Graeca*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, 1594. Thomson, Scaliger and others supplied prefatory verses for this edition. For Thomson's contributions, see appendix 1, 'Thomson's Poetry'. Scaliger and Janus Dousa supplied Latin translations of Agathias' epigrams.

15 Thomson refers to the following by Florent Chrétien: *Q. Sept. Florentis Christiani Andromacha Euripidea tragedia. Cum notatis ad ipsam Graecam fabulam*, Leiden, 1594.

16 Casaubon's edition emerged in 1595: *C. Suetonii Tranquilli de XII Caesaribus libri VIII. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit .... Additi sunt et Suetonii libelli de Illustribus grammaticis et de Claris rhetoribus*, Geneva, apud J. Chouët, 1595.

17 Henri Estienne, Casaubon's father-in-law, had published: *Sexti Philosophi Pyrrhoniarum hypotypωseωn libri III., quibus in tres philosophiae partes severissime inquiritur. ... Latine nunc primum editi, interprete H. Stephano*, [Geneva], Henri Estienne, 1562. Thomson, however, doubtless wanted to consult Estienne's Greek manuscript of Sextus. Estienne was reluctant to allow Casaubon to use it: see Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 25 April 1594. Scaliger knew of this manuscript and on 26 May 1598 he wrote to Casaubon regarding the recently-dead Estienne: 'Vidi apud illum egregia exemplaria ἀνέκδοτα, Sextum Empiricum et alia ...' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 134). Casaubon later acquired the manuscript, now London, British Library, Royal, 16.D.xiii: see H.H.E. Craster, 'Casaubon's Greek MSS', *Bodleian Library Quarterly*, 5, 1926–1928, pp. 97–100, p. 98, no. 45.

18 No work by Thomson on Sextus Empiricus has come to light. He had a Greek manuscript of Sextus with him in Florence in 1598: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', no. 12.

19 Scaliger's quarrel with Robertus Titius was sparked by his work on textual criticism: *R. Titii Burgensis locorum controversorum libri decem. In quibus plurimi scriptorum loci conferuntur, explicantur, et emendantur multo aliter quam hactenus a quoquam factum sit*, Florence,

Vale. Salutem plurimam dulcissimae uxori, suavissimae sorori, humanissimo affini, mellitissimae sororculae meae, clarissimo Cevallerio, et caeteri vicini ubique.[20]

VI Cal. Ianuarii 94, quem salutarem vobis precor omnibus annum.

Procopium *De aedificiis Constantinopolis* habet manuscriptum Vulcanius. Nam epitome tantum edita est; quam spero tamen Antuerpia accepturum me.[21]

Johannes Drusius [Franeker] to Thomson **[1594] (1)**

PRINT: Drusius, *De quaesitis per epistolam*, [Franeker], apud Aegidium Radaeum, 1595, no. 78, pp. 147–149.
Critici Sacri: sive doctissimorum virorum in ss. Biblia annotationes et tractatus. Opus summa cura recognitum et in novem tomos divisum, 9 vols, London, 1660, 8, no. 78, cols 2087–2088.
Critici Sacri .... Editio nova in novem tomos distributa, multis anecdotis, commentariis, ac indice ad totum opus locupletissimo, aucta, 9 vols, Amsterdam, 1698, 8, no. 78, col. 840.

DATE: This is one of two undated letters to Thomson from Drusius printed in *De quaesitis per epistolam* in 1595. The *terminus ante quem* is supplied by the date of the *editio princeps*. A *terminus post quem* is supplied by the Italian edition of the Targum on

apud Bartholomaeum Sermartellium, 1583. Scaliger wrote against it under a pseudonym: *Yvonis Villiomari Aremorici in locos controversos Roberti Titii animadversorum liber*, Paris, M. Patisson, 1586. In 1589 Titius responded: *Roberti Titii Burgensis pro suis locis controversis assertio adversus Yvonem quemdam Villiomarum*, Florence, B. Sermartellius, 1589. For the exchange, see Bernays, *Scaliger*, 1855, pp. 251–266; for Titius, see also M. Ferrucci, ed. *Otto lettere di C. Picchena a Roberto Titi. Con preliminari, note, e appendice*, Pisa, 1876. Titius wrote a friendly letter to Casaubon from Florence on 23 January 1594. The autograph is London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 280r–v. Casaubon published no work against Titius.

20 The death of Cevallerius (Pierre Chevalier) is reported in Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 25 April 1594. Thomson's 'sororcula' is Casaubon's daughter Philippa, at this date just four years old.

21 The first edition of the full text of *On Buildings* was in 1607: *Historiarum Procopii libri VIII nunc primum Graece editi. Accessit liber de aedificiis Iustiniani fere duplo quam antea auctior. Opera D. Hoeschelii*, Augsburg, 1607.

the Pentateuch by pseudo-Jonathan ben Uziel, noticed in the first line. This edition is undated, but is certainly of 1590–1591, and Drusius has had time to consult and digest a copy. The second of the two letters to Thomson from Drusius, printed in the same volume, was written 'ex quo a nobis discessisti'. Thomson matriculated at the University of Franeker, where Drusius was rector, on 30 November 1593. By late December he was in Leiden. Both letters are thus plausibly dated to 1594.

SYNOPSIS: Drusius is delighted to hear that Jonathan's paraphrase of the Pentateuch has been printed in Italy. Evidence from Galatino and Menahem suggests that it is by Jonathan ben Uziel, but the work may have been ascribed to him to bolster its authority. Drusius indicates several passages in *Genesis* where the paraphrase diverges significantly from the Hebrew text. A number of these passages have had later Jewish fables attached to them.

I. Drusius Richardo Thomsono.

O laetum nuncium de Pentateucho a Ionatha verso et edito in Italia![1] Certa res sit modo, nec ut alias saepe, ita nunc quoque fallimur. Nam sunt qui Mosen a Ionatha translatum esse omnino negant. 'At Galatinus', inquis, 'hos erroris convincit, dum affirmat se eius paraphrasin in Pentateuchum vidisse quae ita incipieret:

מן אולא ברא יי ית שמיא וית ארעא
Ab intiio creavit Dominus caelum et terram'.[2]

3 fallimur] fallamur *D-1595* 4 Galatinus (De arcanis Catholicae veritatis, lib. 1, cap. 3) *CS 1660*, *CS 1698* ‖ inquis] *sic CS 1698* inquit *D-1595* 7 מן ... ארעא] *sic D-1595*, *CS 1698* מן שמיא וית ארעא אולא ברא יי ית *CS 1660*

1 Pseudo-Jonathan ben Uziel, Targum to the Pentateuch, 3 vols, [Venice, Bragadin, 1590–1591].

2 Pietro Colonna Galatino (1460–1530), a theologian and Hebrew scholar, whose most famous work was reprinted several times: *Opus de arcanis Catholicae veritatis. Hoc est, In omnia difficilia loca Veteris Testamenti, ex Talmud aliisque Hebraicis libris ... contra Iudaeorum perfidiam ... commentarius*, Basle, per Ioannem Hervagium, 1561, p. 6. The *editio princeps* of the present letter has a reference to this work in the margin: *'De arca. Catho. veritatis lib. 1, cap. 3'*. This reference has crept into the text in the editions of 1660 and 1698.

Adde, si placet, Manahemum Ricinensem qui eam aliquoties laudat.[3] Ad hoc responderi potest, quosdam lucelli sui causa ut lectorem inducant hiantem ineptissimis suis ineptiis clarissima veterum nomina praeponere solere. Id quod fortasse evenit huic paraphrasi, quae sub nomine Ionathae Uzielis filii edita est in Italia. Certe quae Manahemus ille laudat, ex iis aliqua sunt adeo inepta et futilia ut tanto viro attribui sine summo ipsius dedecore non possint.

Sed age, fidei nostrae causa proferemus locum unum et item alterum. In Mose legitur *Gen*. 2, 6: 'et vapor ascendebat e terra'; in Ionatha: 'et nubes gloriosa descendebat a loco qui sub solio gloriae'. Rursum in Mose *Gen*. 2, 7: 'pulverem e terra'; in Ionatha: 'pulverem e loco domus Sanctuarii'. Sed haec tolerari possunt: quae subiiciam plane sapiunt Iudaicas fabulas. Moses ait *Gen*. 1, 21: 'et creavit cetos magnos'; Ionathas ille: 'et creavit cetos magnos, videlicet Leviathan et femellam eius'. *Gen*. 3, 21: 'fecitque Adamo et uxori eius tunicas pelliceas'; Ionathas: 'fecitque Dominus Deus Adamo et uxori eius vestes pretiosas e pelle serpentis, qua exuit eum, pro cute corporis ipsorum'. *Gen*. 4, 1: 'et Adam cognovit uxorem suam', etc; Ionathas: 'cognovitque Adam uxorem suam praegnantem esse e Samaele genio, e quo concepit et peperit Cain, qui similis erat supernatibus, non infernatibus; itaque dixit, "Acquisivi virum angelum Domini".' *Gen*. 6, 4: 'et gigantes (sive defectores) erant in terra'; Ionathan: 'Samhazi et Azael, qui ceciderant e caelo, erant in terra in diebus illis'.

Johannes Drusius [Franeker] to Thomson **[1594] (2)**

PRINT: Drusius, *De quaesitis per epistolam*, [Franeker], apud Aegidium Radaeum, 1595, no. 103, pp. 199–201.
Critici Sacri: sive doctissimorum virorum in ss. Biblia annotationes et tractatus. Opus summa cura recognitum et in novem tomos divisum, 9 vols, London, 1660, no. 103, cols 2101–2102.
Critici Sacri .... Editio nova in novem tomos distributa, multis anecdotis, commentariis, ac indice ad totum opus locupletissimo, aucta, 9 vols, Amsterdam, 1698, 8, no. 103, cols 852–853.

DATE: For the date of this letter, see the headnotes to the previous letter from Drusius, also undated, but written about 1594.

8 caussa *D-1595* 14 femellam] foemellam *D-1595*

3 'Manahemus Ricinensis' is the rabbi Menahem ben Benjamin Recanati (1250–1310).

SYNOPSIS: Drusius would like to know whether Thomson has found a job. Edward Lively has brought to his attention a passage in the Psalms in which the Hebrew text and the Greek Septuagint translation differ. Lively would emend the Hebrew text to make it conform to the Greek, but Drusius is not persuaded. The consensus of the Hebrew manuscripts, the Hebrew commentators, the Chaldaic paraphrase, Aquila and Jerome all support the text as it stands. Drusius believes that it is the Septuagint text which requires emendation, and he cites a letter by Jerome in support of his case.

I. Drusius Richardo Thomsono.

Quo in statu res tuae sint, Thomsone, cognoscere sane aveo. Saepe de te percontatus sum ex quo a nobis discessisti,[1] nec tamen adhuc inveni qui aliquid certi mihi referret. Conditionem si nactus es ex sententia, est quod gaudeam.[2] Nam tibi faveo ut qui maxime. Ita meretur ingenium tuum, quod inter prima Angliae, imo totius Europae.

Psal. 42, 6: אלהי : פָּנָיו.

Hunc locum ita legunt ac interpungunt omnes codices Ebraei mihi hactenus visi. Tamen suspectum eum reddunt primum interpretatio Graeca:

τοῦ προσώπου μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου,
faciei meae et Deus meus.

Deinde finis huius Psalmi, tum etiam sequentis. De quo me admonuit communis amicus noster Eduardus Livelaeus,[3] cui videbatur potius legendum

8 Hunc] hic *cs 1660*, *cs 1698*

1 Thomson matriculated at Franeker, where Drusius was rector of the university, on 30 November 1593, and he was in Leiden by late December.

2 By 'conditio', Drusius means a paid position.

3 Edward Lively (1545–1605) had studied Hebrew under Drusius during the latter's time in Cambridge in the 1570s (Cooper and Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1858–1861, 2, p. 407). Lively was Regius professor of Hebrew at Cambridge from 1575 until his death. He was to be one of the translators of the King James Bible. Drusius' observation seems to have come from his private correspondence with Lively.

פָּנָי וֵאלֹהָי׃
vultus mei et Dei mei.

Ut versus iste finiat in nomine אלהי, et septimus incipiat a particula עָלַי quae proxime sequitur.

Dicam quod res est. Movit ille me, sed non plane permovit. Nam quae pro recepta lectione nunc adducam, praeponderant. Primo consensus exemplarium, de quo dixi. Secundo interpretes Ebraei, qui aliam lectionem non agnoscunt. Tertio paraphrastes Chaldaeus, qui vertit, 'ob salutes quae ab eo. Deus meus in me', etc. Quarto Aquila Ponticus, cuius interpretamentum laudatur in notis ad editionem Romanam: προσώπου αὐτοῦ Θεός μου. Quinto Hieronymus, in quo 'vultus eius. Deus meus'.

Sed Graecus interpres in antiquis exemplaribus invenit פני ואלהי, translata litera Vau a fine vocis praecedentis ad initium sequentis. Hoc verum non videtur. Nam scriptura codicum vulgariorum corrupta est. Scribi enim debet certe προσώπου μου ὁ Θεός μου, absque copula. Id probo partim ex libris emendatioribus in quibus illud 'καί' abest, partim ex epistola ad Suniam et Fretelam, ubi Hieronymus ita scribit:

> Quadragesimo primo, 'salutare vultus mei, Deus meus'. Pro quo invenisse vos dicitis σωτήριον τοῦ προσώπου μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου, id est, 'salutare vultus mei et Deus meus'. Sed sciendum est, hoc in isto Psalmo bis inveniri; et in primo positum esse, 'salutare vultus mei, Deus meus'; in secundo autem, id est, in fine ipsius Psalmi, 'salutare vultus mei et Deus meus'. Ita duntaxat ut 'et' coniunctio de Ebraeo et Theodotione sub asterisco addita sit.[4]

Ex quibus et illud discimus: in Graecis exemplaribus antiquis abfuisse copulantem etiam vers. 12 cum ibi additam scribat sub asterisco ex Ebraeo et Theodotione. Si vacas, vide notata editionis Romanae in hunc locum.

3 septimus] se-primus *D-1595* 13 Hoc] hic *CS 1660*, *CS 1698*

4 Jerome, Letter 106, To Sunnias and Fretela (J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series latina*, 221 vols, Paris, 1844–1890, vol. 22, cols 837–867, col. 845).

Isaac Casaubon (Geneva) to Thomson [Leiden?] 25 April 1594

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1638, no. 599, pp. 701–703.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1656, no. 13, pp. 16–19.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 12, pp. 8–9.

NOTE: This is Casaubon's first extant letter to Thomson, though not his first. Casaubon probably addressed it to Leiden, although Thomson had left that city before it arrived: see chapter 9, 'Leiden, December 1593–May 1594'.
On 30 May 1594, Thomson wrote to Casaubon from Stade: 'Omnia quae misisti, Francofurto accepi', but this statement cannot include the present letter: in the letter of 30 May, Thomson has not heard of the death of Chevalier, announced here by Casaubon.
The present letter answers two letters from Thomson to Casaubon: the first of 27 December 1593 is extant; the second, probably written in March 1594, has not been found.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon protests that he has written to Thomson more than once, and has also written to Scaliger. He has received two letters from Thomson since he arrived in Leiden. His joy in receiving them was dispelled by the sudden death of Chevalier. From one of Thomson's letters, he was delighted to learn of Scaliger's regard for his work: no doubt Thomson has bewitched Scaliger. As for Sextus Empiricus, Casaubon has no influence with Henri Estienne, and besides, the unfortunate man is said to be wandering around Germany. Casaubon is grateful for Thomson's efforts on his behalf in Leiden. He has not yet received the books Thomson mentioned. He will, of course, meet all expenses incurred, and has arranged for him to receive a copy of Estienne's Greek concordance. Casaubon is lecturing on Arrian's *Dissertationes*, a fine work which was hardly understood by Schegk or Wolf, and which he encourages Thomson to prepare for publication. He is working on Suetonius, and would like to read Procopius' *On Buildings*, Vulcanius' edition of Agathias, and Scaliger's *Cyclometrica*. He particularly values Scaliger's work on Simmias' *Egg*. He is glad to have the best wishes of the Dousas and Vulcanius. De Lect and Casaubon's family send their regards to Thomson, as does Paul Estienne. Casaubon's sister-in-law, Dionysia, is dangerously ill.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Accusas silentium meum, charissime Richarde, immerito. Scripsi enim, et prorsus tecum, si aliis rebus nequivi, hoc saltem officii genere parem calculum ut haberem feci.[1] Scripseram etiam ad maximum Scaligerum ante quatuor menses amplius;[2] ac deinceps ad te etiam scripsi aliquoties.[3] Si meae diligentiae mihi fructus periit, est ego cur doleam, non cur a te vapulem; qui persuasus esse debes, seu scribam, seu taceam, in amore tui constantem et ἀδαμάντινον me fore.[4] Sin ita es comparatus ut paucorum mensium ἀπροσηγορίᾳ labefactari posse amicitiam nostram putes, vide quomodo tui magistri, illius veteris dico ambulatoris, κυρίας δόξας (quibus te esse addictum scio) possis tueri.[5] Sed profecto et tibi et mihi de 'meliore luto Titan praecordia finxit';[6] quare μέμψεων quidem ἄλις.[7]

Duas autem a te postquam Lugdunum venisti literas accepi,[8] quae me quidem tantae χαρμοσύνης ἐπέβησαν ut iam triste nihil posse accidere mihi stultus ego crederem, cum ecce sub idem tempus quasi fulmen οὐρανόθεν ἐνσκήπτει, quod me poene tibi meisque abstulit.[9] Raptus enim est his diebus in sedes

1 For 'parem calculum', see Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 5.2.1.

2 Casaubon refers to a letter he wrote to Scaliger on 15 December 1593: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 364–365.

3 None of these earlier letters from Casaubon to Thomson has survived, and they may never have reached Thomson.

4 Ἀδαμάντινον: 'adamantine', 'made of steel'.

5 The 'magister' is the peripatetic philosopher Aristotle. Casaubon alludes to the anonymous proverb quoted in *Nicomachean Ethics* VIII.5.1: 'Πολλὰς δὴ φιλίας ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσεν', 'a want of conversation has undone many friendships'. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 1026: 'Multas amicitias silentium diremit. Admonet adagium assiduo convictu ac frequentibus alloquiis necessitudines ali'. The phrase 'κυρίαι δόξαι', 'authoritative judgements', is used loosely here by Casaubon. The words were used of a collection of forty philosophical principles from the ancient philosopher Epicurus. They are to be found in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, X.138–154. Casaubon had published notes on Diogenes Laertius in 1583.

6 Juvenal, *Satires*, XIV.35: 'Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan'.

7 Μέμψεων ἄλις: 'enough of reproaches'. The phrase does not seem to be a quotation.

8 The first letter is Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593; the second is lost. The contents of Thomson's lost letter, probably written in March 1594, may be partly reconstructed from this reply from Casaubon. 'Lugdunum' is Leiden, that is, 'Lugdunum Batavorum', not Lyon.

9 'Quae me … tantae χαρμοσύνης ἐπέβησαν': literally, 'which [letters] have trodden the path of such great joy for me'. Οὐρανόθεν ἐνσκήπτει: 'falls from heaven'.

μακάρων ille vere μακαρίτης Petrus Chevalerius, dulcissimum mihi nomen; cuius in morte quantam iacturam fecerint mea studia dicerem, nisi animus memoriam tristissimi casus refugeret.[10] Sed et ille nimirum mortalis erat, et nos quoque illum, cum Deo visum fuerit, sequemur. Crede mihi, nunquam magis imbibi 'vitae summa brevis spes vetat incohare longas'.[11] Etiam illud accrede, amisisse te amicum de meliore nota.[12]

Sed redeo ad tuas, quae profecto maria quaedam gaudiorum mihi attulerunt. Primum illud quanti me aestimare putas quod tuo nescio quo strategemate factum ut ille mortalium ἅπαξ ἁπάντων κριτικώτατος tanti nostras nugas faceret quanti tu quidem ais.[13] Scis ipse, me, qui meorum pretia novi, eius oculis dignum nihil iudicasse quod esset a nobis profectum. Si ipsi aliter videatur, patiatur, amabo, me hac in una re δίχα φρονεῖν.[14] Sed tu nimirum hominem fascinasti.

Quod scribis de Empirico, semel velim statuas me meaque omnia tua esse, tibique patere ut tua. Sed quod ad Henricum Stephanum attinet, nosti hominem, nosti mores; nosti quid apud eum possim, hoc est, quam nihil possim, qui videtur in suam perniciem coniurasse.[15] Nam quod tu putas eum hic esse, falleris: postquam semel abiit ante menses octo aut novem, ex illo semper non quidem per Elysios campos, sed per Germaniam ἀλᾶται, πλανᾶται καὶ ἀλύει.[16] Ita enim plane audio ἀλύειν eum, ut neque domum redire, neque alibi aptas sedes reperire queat. O hominem dignum cuius te misereat!

9 ἅπαξ] *correxi ex* ἅπαξι *c-1638, c-1656, c-1709* 15 Henricum Stephanum] N.N. *c-1638, c-1656, c-1709*

10 Μακάρων: 'of the blessed ones'; μακαρίτης: 'blessed', often used of one recently dead. For Pierre Chevalier, who taught Hebrew to Casaubon in Geneva, see chapter 7, 'Geneva, April–August 1593'.

11 Horace, *Carmina*, I.4.15: 'Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam'.

12 For the turn of phrase, see Catullus, *Carmina*, 68.28: 'quisquis de meliore nota'.

13 Ἅπαξ ἁπάντων κριτικώτατος: 'formerly the most judicious of all men'. Casaubon refers to Joseph Scaliger. Thomson gave Scaliger Casaubon's edition of Theophrastus' *Characteres* and reported its reception in Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593.

14 Δίχα φρονεῖν: 'to be in two minds'.

15 In all three printed editions the name of Stephanus (Estienne) is concealed beneath the letters 'N.N.' Estienne's name is suplied in the margin of the edition of 1709 by the editor Almeloveen. That Estienne is intended is confirmed by the contents of Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 27 December 1593. The name has been restored in the present edition, but it is possible that Casaubon himself chose to conceal it, knowing Thomson would understand.

16 Ἀλᾶται, πλανᾶται καὶ ἀλύει: 'he wanders, he is led astray, and he is perplexed'. The phrase does not seem to be a quotation.

Spes illa quam tuis literis facere mihi videris, tuum in me animum magis magisque mihi testatum facit. Sed, quod Scaligerum scribere memini, quis γλαῦκα Ἀθήνας?[17] Tu nihilominus aeternum me tibi devinxisti, cuius amorem, fidem, et merita nunquam non praedicabo.

Libros nondum accepi quos mitti a te tua epistola aiebat.[18] Nostrorum enim merces nondum venerant cum haec scripsi.[19] Quicquid mea causa impenderis, id cui refundi velis, fac me certiorem; alioquin carebo hoc fructu amicitiae tuae; tua enim opera non utar. Mandaveram Probo nostrati ut exemplar concordantiae Graecae a Stephano editae tibi curaret deferendum; reversus affirmavit fecisse.[20]

Ego nunc Arriani *Dissertationes* publice expono, cuius aurei libri neque Schegkius neque Wolfius umbram viderunt.[21] O philosophum! O dignum tuo excellenti ingenio campum! Quare si me audis, rape mihi hanc palmam dum

6 causa] *om. c-1638* 9 deferendum] deferundum *c-1638*, *c-1656* 11 Ariani *c-1656*

17 This alludes to a plan to find Casaubon a position at Leiden: see Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593. In a letter written to Scaliger the same day, Casaubon wrote: 'Scripsit nuper ad me adolescens eruditissimus et mihi charissimus Richardus Thomson se isthic telam nescio quam esse orsum, quam si pertexeret, ἐλπὶς ἄν ἦν τοῦ λοιποῦ σοὶ μαθητεύειν· ὅπερ γένοιτο ἄν μοὶ χάρμα πάντων χαρμάτων ἀντάξιον. Sed cur id consilium sperem exitum habiturum, caussam nullam video. Nam ego quis sum, aut quis γλαῦκα Athenas?' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 378–379). For the turn of phrase, compare Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 111: 'ululas Athenas'. The movement into Greek when the discussion becomes delicate is characteristic of Casaubon's prose.

18 These books, apparently specified in Thomson's lost letter of March 1594, have not been identified. They no doubt included items from a list of *desiderata* given to Thomson by Casaubon. He had acquired some of these by December 1593 and was looking for others in May 1594: see Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 27 December 1593 and 30 May 1594.

19 Casaubon seems to mean that the Genevan booksellers had not yet returned from the spring bookfair in Frankfurt, where such packages would have been exchanged.

20 Casaubon sent: *Concordantiae Testamenti Novi, Graecolatinae: nunc primum plenae editae, et diu multumque desiderate, ut optimae duces ad veram vocum illius interpretationem futurae, in his quid praestitum sit, praefixa ad lectorem epistola docet*, [Geneva], ex typographeio Henr. Stephani, 1594. 'Probus' has not been identified.

21 The translations and editions of Arrian's *Dissertationes* by Jakob Schegk (1511–1587) and Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580) were both printed at Basle: *Arriani Nicomediensis de Epicteti philosophi, praeceptoris sui, dissertationibus libri IIII, saluberrimis, ac philosophica gravitate egregie conditis, ... nunc primum in lucem editi Iacobo Scheggio medico physico Tubingensi interprete*, Basle, per Ioannem Oporinum, 1554; *Arriani commentarium de Epicteti disputationibus libri IIII. Item alia eiusdem argumenti, in studiosorum gratiam, scholarum usum*, Basle, per Ioannem Oporinum, 1563.

adhuc in medio est posita. Offero tibi quicquid habuero quod iuvare te possit. Moliebar ipse aliquid, sed melius hoc onus in tuos valentissimos humeros incumbet.[22] Nos omnibus malis infirmi sumus, tamen quid fieri possit utcunque possumus animadvertere.

Suetonium scis mihi esse ad manum. In eum si quid habes, quaeso, adiuva.[23] Procopii libellum quem tam blande offers, si semel pellegero, remittam statim.[24] Agathias doctissimi Vulcanii ubi est? Non enim comparet his nundinis.[25] Quid ille τετραγωνισμὸς τοῦ κύκλου? Quando exstabit? Beatum te qui talis viri ὁμιλίᾳ fruaris.[26] *Ovum* quod misisti eo gratius fuit quod et a tali viro erat, et me non semel valde vexaverat: non enim mihi stomachus passeris marini, ut cibos ferreos concoquam.[27]

Salus a Dousis, viris nobilissimis et doctissimis, item ab eruditissimo Vulcanio sic mihi grata ut nihil queat magis.[28] Spondeo tibi scripturum ad ipsos ut

22 Thomson declined to undertake an edition of the *Dissertationes* in his letter to Casaubon of 30 May 1594. For Thomson's later collation of a manuscript of this work in Italy, see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

23 Casaubon's edition emerged in 1595: *C. Suetonii Tranquilli de XII Caesaribus libri VIII. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit .... Additi sunt et Suetonii libelli de Illustribus grammaticis et de Claris rhetoribus*, Geneva, apud J. Chouët, 1595.

24 Procopius' work *On Buildings*, noticed the postscript of Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593. Thomson had sent it when he wrote his letter to Casaubon of 9 August 1595.

25 The spring bookfair in Frankfurt. For Vulcanius' edition of Agathias, see Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593, note 14.

26 Τετραγωνισμὸς τοῦ κύκλου: 'squaring of the circle'. Scaliger's *De quadratura circuli* or his *Cyclometrica*, in which treatise he claimed to have solved this ancient geometrical puzzle. See Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593: 'Scaliger dabit *De circuli quadratura libri*'.

27 The *Egg* of Simmias, a difficult Greek pattern poem. The work is not mentioned in Thomson letter to Casaubon of 27 December 1593, so it must have accompanied a lost letter from Thomson to Casaubon in the early months of 1594. For Scaliger's work on the *Egg* of Simmias, see Scaliger to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, 31 March 1591, in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 152–154. Scaliger's notes on the poem were first published in 1596: *Theocriti ... idyllia et epigrammata. ... Moschi, Bionis, Simmii opera quae exstant, Iosephi Scaligeri et Isaaci Casauboni emendationes seorsim dabuntur*, [Heidelberg], H. Commelinus, 1596. Casaubon must thus have received a manuscript copy of Scaliger's notes.

28 These greetings from the Dousas and from Vulcanius must have been in Thomson's lost letter to Casaubon sent around March 1594. Janus Dousa junior wrote an extant letter to Casaubon dated 14 May 1594 in which Dousa apologises for introducing himself to Casaubon so boldly, 'sed auctor mihi audendi fuit cum Thomson noster, iuvenis lectissimus, tum tua humanitas, quae cum in literis ad Thomsonem nos quotidiana salute imparti-

primum occasio fuerit oblata; nam nunc quidem nullo poteram modo.[29] Uxor, soror mea, et sororcula tua te ferunt oculis, et plurimum salvere iubent.[30] Salutat te et sapientissimus Lectius noster.[31]

Vale, corculum meum.

Genevae, a. d. VII Kalend. Maias M D XCIV.

Ante alios salutat te frater Paulus Stephanus. Dionysia, cum ista maxime scriberem, sic aegrotabat ut de eius salute medici inciperent dubitare.[32] Deus illi, tibi, nobisque adsit. Iterum vale.

Thomson (Stade) to Isaac Casaubon (Geneva) 30 May 1594

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 234^{r-v}.

ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / Professeur en grec. / À Geneve.

DATE: The present letter is dated 20 May according the Julian calendar, that is, 30 May according to the Gregorian calendar. In fact, it appears to have been written on the same day as the letter which Thomson wrote to Vulcanius from Stade in 1594, dated 30 May. Thomson seems to have dated the present letter according to the Julian calendar used in Geneva, but dated the letter to Vulcanius according to the Gregorian calendar used in Leiden.

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retur, non potui non testari tribus verbis hunc affectum animi exultantis in benevolentia et testimonio tanti viri …' (Herman de Vries de Heekelingen, *Genève pépinière du Calvinisme hollandais*, 2 vols, Fribourg and The Hague, 1918–1924, 2, pp. 242–243). Scaliger wrote to Casaubon on 18 July 1594: 'tibi, mi Casaubone, multos optimos viros amicos peperit virtus tua, in quibus Douzas patrem et filium praecipuos habes' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 403).

29 If Casaubon did write to Vulcanius around this date, then the letter has not survived. Casaubon's next extant letter to Janus Dousa junior is dated 27 August 1594 (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 16, p. 11).

30 Casaubon's wife Florence, his sister Anna, and his daughter Philippa, often referred to as Thomson's little sister.

31 'Lectius' is Jacques de Lect (1560–1611), professor of Law in Geneva, and a friend of Casaubon.

32 Casaubon's sister-in-law, the daughter of Henri Estienne.

TEXT: There is some loss to the text in the lower right-hand margin of fol. 234^{r}. The extent of the reconstruction is recorded in the textual apparatus.

NOTE: Thomson greets Pierre Chevalier at the end of the letter, and consequently he has not yet received Casaubon's letter of 25 April 1594, in which Chevalier's death is announced.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson forwards letters from Scaliger and Dousa. Vulcanius is too busy with wedding preparations to write. Many are eager to see Casaubon's *Crux*, and his editions of Epictetus and Suetonius. Thomson sends some of Lipsius' notes on Suetonius. The notes on Juvenal were not worth transcribing. He has several works from Casaubon's list, which he will send via the next bookfair. He will also send a supplement to Dicaearchus, collated with a manuscript of Scaliger's. He regrets that he has only fragments of Daniel's Servius. He has received what Casaubon sent, and has sent Casaubon some material. Thomson must now travel to England, but will return to the Low Countries. Many hope Casaubon will edit Athenaeus. He himself is hardly ready to undertake such work, although Dousa has some of his material on Martial. He would like to have the work of Sextus Empiricus. He wonders at the news regarding Fredericus, and were his father less demanding, he would return. He is sorry to have missed the wedding of Casaubon's sister, congratulates him on the birth of his son, and sends Casaubon books and gloves. Vulcanius has had his salary increased, on the condition that he publish his manuscripts. Thomson tried to see Vulcanius' notes on Strabo, but his ruse was spotted. Casaubon may correspond with Thomson via the merchants at the bookfair: his brother will collect any letters. Thomson will deliver those which Casaubon entrusted to him. He sends his regards to Beza, De Lect, Chevalier, Pinauld, and Casaubon's family.

Clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono Richardus Thomson s.

Egon' ut te ludos faciam, mi oculissime? Hem tibi ipsius literas, hem tibi Dousae mei et tui iam per me.[1] Satin' illae me ab omni ista suspicione liberant, nempe

1 'Ipsius', referring to Joseph Scaliger. The letter which Thomson forwarded from Scaliger is Scaliger to Casaubon, 7 May 1594 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2,

ubi Vulcanii, inquis, sunt? Dicam. Totus ille nuptialis et paranymphus scriptioni certe vacare non potuit; scripturus profectus ubi copia et occasio primum se offeret.[2]

Verum tu, Casaubone, ludos nos omnes facis, idque profecto perperum in modum. Heus ubi Epictetus tuus?[3] Ubi Suetonius?[4] Ubi alia quae Scaliger, quae Dousae, quae docti omnes avidissime expectabant? Ubi etiam *Crux* illa, quam Scaliger certe Lipsiana illa longe praefert,[5] etiam invisam et ineditam?[6] Nusquam certe vigor ille et genius vetus Lipsii in illo libro apparet.[7] Caeterum de Suetonio, spes in laeta herba est, et, faxis tu, frugem faciet.

Mitto igitur Lipsii quaedam fragmenta et (uti vides) rudera, quae olim ille hic ad Suetonium.[8] Si quid erit probum, probato; reliqua quasi illecta proteri. Nihil praeterea potui illius; imo nec alterius. Tu, quaeso, ita statue, qui omnem lapidem moverim.[9] Quae ad Iuvenalem, tanti, Hercle, non erant ut describerem. Legi quidem notata illius, sed ad x *Sat*. tantum. Levia, ut dixi, et reicula.[10]

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7 Lipsiana illa] *sic* LBL 8 Nusquam … apparet] *i. m.* LBL

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pp. 384–386). The letter from Janus Dousa junior to Casaubon, dated 14 May 1594, is printed in Herman de Vries de Heekelingen, *Genève: pépinière du Calvinisme hollandais*, 2 vols, Fribourg and The Hague, 1918–1924, 2, pp. 242–243.

2 No such letter from Vulcanius has come to light.

3 Casaubon was lecturing on Arrian's account of Epictetus' teaching in Geneva in April 1594, but published no edition of the work. He encouraged Thomson to undertake this edition in his letter to Thomson of 25 April 1594.

4 Casaubon's edition of Suetonius emerged in 1595: *C. Suetonii Tranquilli de XII Caesaribus libri VIII. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit …. Additi sunt et Suetonii libelli de Illustribus grammaticis et de Claris rhetoribus*, Geneva, apud J. Chouët, 1595.

5 Thomson seems to have used an ablative of comparison: *praeferre* usually takes a dative.

6 No work answering Thomson's description was published by Casaubon. Lipsius' work is: Lipsius, *De cruce libri tres, ad sacram profanamque historiam utiles, una cum notis*, Braunschweig, Godfried Mullers, 1591.

7 'Nusquam … apparet': These words are placed in the margin of the letter by Thomson, apparently an afterthought.

8 Thomson may have sent a manuscript of a work which was published in Germany after Lipsius' death: *I. Lipsii ad C. Suetonii Tranquilli tres posteriores libros commentarii. Eiusdem epistolarum praetermissarum Decades sex*, Offenbach, typis Conrad Nebenii, 1610. The brief anonymous preface *Ad lectorem* states that the notes on Suetonius were taken down by a student from Lipsius' lectures. Lipsius' commentary occupies 102 pages in this octavo edition.

9 For the turn of phrase, see Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 330: 'omnem movere lapidem'.

10 This appears to refer to notes on Juvenal by Lipsius which I have been unable to locate.

De catalogo tuo, sane valde sollicitus sum.[11] Zonaram *In Apostolorum Canones* Graece habeo,[12] Albertum Leonem *De pictura*,[13] Ἴδια ζώων Philetae etc;[14] quae omnia cum vetustissimi poetae Περιηγήσει maris mediterranei inedita, sed a me tua gratia descripta ex manuscripto Pythoei,[15] mittam ad proximas nundinas sive Argentorato, sive Francforto; additamentum etiam ad Dicaearchum vestri Coronelli, imo fortean ipsum, collatum cum manuscripto Scaligeri.[16] Profecto Coronellus ille pessime meritus est de optimo auctore, quem lacerum et discerptum ceu Thyesteam cenam apposuit.[17] Utinam et Servii veri ac genuini quae penes me habeo fragmenta (quae omnia communicavit vir

11 Casaubon had given Thomson a list of *desiderata*, probably while he was in Geneva. Thomson had acquired some items from this list in December 1593: see Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593. He appears to have sent some of these to Casaubon in the spring of 1594: see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594.

12 Thomson probably acquired the *editio princeps*: *Octoginta quinque regulae, seu canones Apostolorum: cum vetustis Ioannis Monachi Zωnarae in eosdem commentariis, Latine modo versis*, Paris, apud Andream Wechelum, 1558. The text is in Greek and Latin.

13 Thomson probably acquired the *editio princeps*: *De pictura praestantissima, et nunquam satis laudata arte libri tres absolutissimi Leonis Baptistae de Albertis viri in omni scientiarum genere, et praecipue mathematicarum disciplinarum doctissimi*, Basle, [B. Westheimer], 1540.

14 The reference seems to be to the fragments of the Greek poet Philitas (or Philetas) of Cos: see OCD, 3rd edn, *s. v.* 'Philitas'.

15 The *Periegesis* (Περιήγησις) was once ascribed to Marcian of Heraclea and now goes under the name Pseudo-Scymnus: see chapter 9, 'Leiden, December 1593–May 1594', and chapter 15, 'Augsburg, Autumn 1599?'. For the manuscript which Thomson sent to Casaubon, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', no. 3. The poem was published in Augsburg in 1600: *Geographica Marciani Heracleotae, Scylacis Caryandensis, Artemidori Ephesii. nunc primum praeter Dicaearchi illa a D. Hoeschelio Aug. ex manuscript. codd. edita*, Augsburg, ad insigne pinus, 1600. It was reprinted in Paris in 1606: *Marciani Heracleotae carmen iamb. de situ orbis. Fed. Morellus profess. et interpres reg. Graeca recensuit, et Latine eodem genere versuum expressit*, Paris, apud Federicum Morellum, 1606. Morel noted in the prefatory material to his edition: 'Nomen autoris huius metricae *Periegeseos* in clarissimi viri Isaaci Casauboni manuscriptum supprimitur …'.

16 'Argentoratum' is Strasbourg.

17 Thyestes served the unsuspecting Atreus the flesh of his sons: see Seneca, *Thyestes*. Casaubon had contributed a small set of notes to Estienne's edition of the fragments of the Greek polymath Dicaearchus: *Dicaearchi Geographica quaedam, sive, De vita Graeciae, eiusdem descriptio Graeciae, versibus iambicis, ad Theophrastum, Cum Lat. interpretatione atque annot. Henr. Stephani, et eius dialogo qui inscriptus est Dicaearchi Sympractor*, Geneva, H. Estienne, 1589. Estienne's *Sympractor* is a elaborate dialogue between 'Philostephanus' and 'Coronellus'.

ille clarissimus et princeps noster) describere denuo liceat![18] Verum ego—faxit Deus—non deero, nisi subita haec in Anglia profectio impediat.[19] Quicquid est, mi Casaubone, ita de me statuas velim, totum me tuum esse, nihilque esse quod ab amore tui et tuorum me possit abstrahere. Utinam, utinam, animum hunc ipsum oculis meis exponere possem! Utinam saltem verbis delineare! Nunc Thimantis velo obduco, et sileo.[20]

Omnia quae misisti, Francofurto accepi.[21] Habeo gratias maximas. Quae ego misi, forte non satisfacient exspectationi tuae, etiam concordant.[22] Feci tamen quod potui, quod scio excusabit me apud virum humanissimum. In Anglia si quid tua caussa possim, dabo equidem operam ut exequar. Neque tamen ibi stare statui, sed redire in Belgicam, ubi res meas omnes composuero. Sed haec alias.

At de Athenaeo quae scribis, serione? Spero. Ex parte enim scio quid in illum et quam multa habeas, tum quid possis omnes norunt. Exacui profecto multis stomachos quibus hoc significavi. Fac, obsecro, ne spes illa nostra decollet.[23]

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8 etiam concordant] *i. m.* LBL 11 [sta]re *absc.* LBL 13 At] *absc.* LBL 14 quam] *absc.* LBL 15 stoma[chos] *absc.* LBL

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18 The *princeps* is Scaliger. The fragments were extracted from Pierre Daniel's longer text of the ancient commentator Servius, which Scaliger had known since 1574: see Scaliger to Daniel, 1 July and 24 July 1574 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 1, pp. 71–77). Casaubon was expecting a copy of the fragments in his letter to Thomson of 1 January 1597. The complete text of the commentary was not printed until 1600: Vergil, *Bucolicorum Eclogae x, Georgicorum libri IIII, Aeneidos libri XII, et in ea Mauri Servii Honorati grammatici commentarii, ex antiquiss. exemplaribus longe meliores et auctiores: ex bibliotheca Petri Danielis*, Paris, S. Nivellius, 1600.

19 Thomson was in England by 1 July: see his letter to William Camden of 1 July 1594.

20 The Greek painter Timanthes depicted the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the grief of the spectators. Despairing of showing the grief of Agamemnon her father, he painted him with a veil over his head (Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.73).

21 This package included a copy of Estienne's concordance to the Greek New Testament: see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594.

22 'Etiam concordant': These words are placed in the margin of the letter by Thomson, apparently an afterthought.

23 For this turn of phrase, see Plautus, *Casina*, 307; *Captivi*, 496–497. For this non-classical reflexive meaning of the active form of the verb *decollare* in combination with *spes*, see also J.F. Nolte, *Lexicon Latinae linguae antibarbarum quadripartitum* vol. 3: *Etymologica sectio posterior exhibens vocabula falso suspecta raro usurpata*, Leipzig and Helmstedt 1744, p. 894. Casaubon was as good as his word: his edition of the Greek text of Athenaeus of Naucratis' *Banquet of the Learned* emerged in 1597, and Casaubon's enormous commentary on the same was published in 1600.

Sed quid? Egone ut aliquid possem in literis? Egone ut aliquid audeam? Satis, Hercle, satis si vos observem, et vobis sacra faciam quos reliquus doctorum chorus stupet. 'Mihi laeva in parte mamillae, nil salit Arcadico iuveni'.[24] Erit tamen fortean tempus ubi de hoc percontari audebo, ubi alibi constitero.[25] Nam in Martialem, tibi scribo, habeo non plane reicula quaedam.[26] Expecto tamem quid Dousa velit, qui iam olim hoc accepit. Utinam habeam Pyrrhonium illum Empiricum, in quem penitus exardesco![27] Iuva me, obsecro, si potes: sentias non adeo in vas pertusum te fudisse tua beneficia!

De Frederico, Deus bone, quae monstra! Itane vero ille miser insaniret? Συμπάσχω, ac puellae sane optimae et castissimae laetiora omina precor.[28] Caepit et illa ([…] apud te, mi Casaubone) aliquando me quoque, quod tu facile suspicatus es et monuisti; sed audientem, et qui non plane aureum illud frenum excusserat. Quanquam nisi patrem difficiliorem Deus profecisset mihi, omnino fueram rediturus.[29]

Nuptiis sororis mellitissimae tuae animo interfui—utinam et corpore![30] Interim feliciter. Tibi autem de filio nato, et de servato, gratulor.[31] Et sane ad

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1 Egone[1]] egon[e] *absc.* LBL 2 v[os] *absc.* LBL ‖ \vobis/ LBL 3 lae[va] *absc.* LBL 4 de] *absc.* LBL 5 habeo] *absc.* LBL 6 ho[c acce]pit *absc.* LBL 7 quem ~~erat~~ LBL ‖ ex[ardesco] *absc.* LBL 8 \in/ LBL ‖ t[ua bene]ficia *absc.* LBL 9 insanire[t] *absc.* LBL 11 […] *absc.* LBL 12 se[d] *absc.* LBL 13 diff[ic]iliorem *absc.* LBL

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24 Juvenal, *Satires*, VII, 159–160.

25 This seems to be a response to Casaubon's suggestion that he edit Arrian's *Dissertationes*: see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594.

26 Thomson worked on the text of Martial for many years: see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

27 It is possible that Thomson wanted Estienne's edition of Sextus Empiricus: *Sexti philosophi Pyrrhoniarum hypotypωseωn libri III, quibus in tres philosophiae partes severissime inquiritur. Libri magno ingenii acumine scripti, variaque doctrina referti: Graece nunquam, Latine nunc primum editi, interprete Henrici Stephano*, [Geneva], H. Estienne, 1562. More likely, he wanted to consult Estienne's Greek manuscript of the work: see Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593.

28 Συμπάσχω: 'I sympathise'.

29 The incident referred to in this paragraph is uncertain. No other letter in Casaubon's extant correspondence of 1594 refers to it.

30 Casaubon's sister Anna married Jean Rigot (Rigotti) in Geneva in 1594 (Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, p. 7).

31 Thomson may have misunderstood Casaubon, whose most recent child was a girl, Esther, born 24 December 1593 (Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, p. 485). The incident from which another child was saved is unknown. An accident with a musket is said to have killed young Jean Casaubon on 22 February 1594 (E. and E. Haag, ed. *La France Protestante*, 2nd

magna natum oportet quem sic Deus servat, quo in omine desino. Uxori, sorori, tibi denique accipies par chirothecarum nostratium[32] cum tuis libris, quos iam collegi profecturus in Angliam, favente, oro, Deo optimo maximo.[33]

Sed audi quod pene exciderat. Vulcanio auctum stipendium est, et annui 200 floreni additi, eo fine ut obstrictus sit Amplissimis Ordinibus edere quicquid habet librorum manuscriptorum. Equidem ita tecum puta futurum ut multa egregia edantur quae alioqui fortean periissent. Diligenter hoc egi ut si quid haberet animadversionum ad Strabonem suum—dixeram autem tibi me aliquid vidisse—id legendum daret. Sed frustra fui. Nam illi subolerit dolus, et aliud purum exemplum commodavit.[34] Risi et dolui, quanquam ubi rediero ad illos, iterum videro per alium.

Iam domi sum apud parentem, profecturus, ut scripsissem, Angliam. Si quid scripturus es ad me (quod plane existimo), poteris per tuos mercatores ad nundinas, ut iam factum est, curare.[35] Nam frater meus, vel alius quis, ab iis petet.[36] Interim ego literas has quas ad me iam dedisti circumfero, et ut Alexander Homerum suum etiam dormitum assumo.[37] Non enim possum sine te vivere, ne noctu quidem.

Vale, anime mi, et vive aut ne ego. Pro missa salute dominum Bezam, Lectium, Cavallerium, Pinaldum, et multum amo, eosdemque officiosissime resaluto;[38] etiam lectissimae uxori tuae, sorori, affini humanissimae Φιλιππιδίῳ sororculae meae etc. s. p. d.[39]

Vale, me ama: ego te aeternum.

Stadae Saxonum, XIII Cal. Iunii M D XCIV stilo veteri.

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17 ne ~~dxxx~~ \noctu/ *LBL*

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edn, 6 vols, Paris, 1877–1888, 3, col. 823). In fact, Jean outlived his father, but the account may preserve an echo of an incident recounted in a lost letter from Casaubon.

32 The phrase refers to a pair of gloves.

33 Thomson had evidently intended to end the letter at this point.

34 It appears that Thomson had casually asked to see a copy of Strabo, hoping to be given Vulcanius' annotated copy. Vulcanius, wise to the ruse, supplied him instead with a book which had no notes.

35 The spring bookfair in Frankfurt has passed: Thomson refers to the autumn bookfair.

36 This is probably Thomson's brother Emanuel.

37 Alexander the Great was said to have slept with a copy of Homer under his pillow.

38 Theodore Beza, Jacques de Lect, Pierre Chevalier and Jean Pinauld.

39 Casaubon's wife Florence, his sister Anna, and his daughter Philippa, often referred to as Thomson's little sister. At the time of writing Philippa was not quite five years old, hence the Greek diminutive.

Thomson (Stade) to Bonaventura Vulcanius [Leiden] 30 May 1594

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: I, fol. 3r.
DATE: For the date of the present letter, see the headnotes to Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 30 May 1594.
TEXT: There is some loss to the right margin in the autograph. The extent of the loss is recorded in the apparatus.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson intends to take ship tomorrow for England, and hopes to return to his friends in Leiden by the winter. He will be glad to do anything he can for Vulcanius in England. Yesterday he received letters from Heidelberg and Basle. Estienne has gone quite mad and is preparing a lengthy work criticising Lipsius' Latin. Thomson will write soon from England. Meanwhile, he sends his regards to Scaliger, Bastinck, Dousa, his wife, Hospita, and all his other friends.

Bonaventurae Vulcanio Richard Thomson s.

Tandem ergo domum redii, vir optime maxime, etsi biduo serius. Nam iam solverant hinc naves nostrae in Angliam, quo modo factum ut etiamnum hic haeream; cras tamen σὺν Θεῷ ἀγαθῷ navigaturus.[1] Tantum bonum precamini. De reditu meo ad vos plane ita sentio atque coram. Futurum enim spero ut cum primis nivibus advolem. Interim Deus omnia bene vortat. Nihil enim est quod magis cupiam quam apud vos esse; apud te, inquam, vir clarissime humanissime, apud clarissimum et optimum theologum dominum Bastingium,[2] apud reliquas illas illustres animas, ad quos respiro, ceu micae hae ignium ad superos illos et perennes. Utinam tantum aliquo loco apud vos esse liceat! Caeterum in Anglia si quid erit quod in rem tuam faciat, solidam illi praestando operam impendam. Ita enim statuas velim, mi clarissime vir, nihil antiquius, nihil prius esse apud me, quam tibi gratificari; quod cum re nulla alia expedire poterim, perpetuo saltem tuarum laudum praeconio redhostibo.

1 Σὺν Θεῷ ἀγαθῷ: 'with the good Lord'.

2 For Jeremias Bastingius (Bastinck, 1551–1595), see Van der Aa, 2, 1855, pp. 52–53; NNBW, 1911–1937, 1, cols 239–241.

Heri literas accepi Heidelberga et Basilea.[3] Scin quid tuus ille Patroclianus integros hos VI menses moliatur?[4] Scin? Parat librum satis grandem, et fortean maiorem quam sunt duo Caesaris *Anticatones*, in I. Lipsium.[5] Argumentum ridiculum. Examinat Latinitatem illius, quam non satis Latinam olim etiam mihi dixit.[6] Sed quid misellus Lipsius? Actum scilicet de eo est, ubi ille χεσὰς in eum iverit.[7] Infelicem Stephanum cui meliorem mentem Deus ademit.[8]

Hoc scripsi ut esset quod rideres. Proxime ex Anglia.[9] Interim vive, vir optime maxime, me ama, ego te aeternum. Salutem dico illustrissimo Scaligero, clarissimo Bastingio, quorum iussa omnia sedulo ac fideliter exequar, et scribam proxima occasione ex Anglia—hinc sane vix potui; nobilissimo Dousae,[10] optimae etiam faeminae,[11] Hospitae nostrae, cui ego grandes gratias,[12] denique suavissimis nostris convictoribus καὶ συμπόταις σοφοτάτοις, et quantum est hominum venustiorum.[13]

Vale, vir doctissime.

Stadae, a. d. III Cal. Iunii M D XCIV.

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5 mihi] *absc.* LUB ‖ i[lle] *absc.* LUB

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3 These letters have not come to light. Thomson corresponded with Jan Gruter and Jacob Christmann in Heidelberg. From Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 17 February 1596, we learn that he corresponded with Jean Aubry in Basle.

4 For Patroclianus, see Martial, *Epigrams*, XII.77.9, where 'sella Patrocliana' is a public latrine. Martial's line is discussed in Hadrianus Turnebus, *Adversariorum tomus tertius, libros sex continens*, Paris, apud Martinum Iuvenem, 1573, book 30, chapter 26, p. 265.

5 Julius Caesar wrote a lost and lengthy *Anticato* in response to Cicero's lost *Cato*.

6 Thomson presumably refers to a conversation he had with Estienne in Geneva in the summer of 1593.

7 The Greek participle is from χέζω, 'to ease oneself'.

8 Henri Estienne's work was published the following year, *De Lipsii Latinitate .... Palaestra I.H. Stephani Parisiensis; nec Lipsiomimi, nec Lipsiomomi*, Frankfurt, [n.p.], 1595.

9 Thomson was in Cambridge by 1 July, and wrote to Vulcanius on 5 August 1594.

10 Thomson probably intends his friend Janus Dousa junior, not Janus Dousa senior.

11 This woman appears to be Vulcanius' wife. Thomson wrote on the same day to Casaubon about Vulcanius' wedding preparations: see Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594.

12 Thomson sent his regards to Hospita in four letters to Vulcanius, dated 7 May 1594, 5 August 1594, 4 February 1595 and 22 July 1600.

13 Καὶ συμποταῖς σοφοτάτοις: 'and very wise fellow-drinkers'. 'Quantum ... venustiorum': Catullus, *Carmina*, 3.2.

Thomson (Cambridge) to William Camden [London] 1 July 1594

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Cotton ms. Julius C.V., fol. 55^{r} (olim fol. 30^{r}).
PRINT: Camden, *Epistolae*, 1691, p. 54, no. 46.
TEXT: The text is based on the autograph. There is no envelope, and the verso is blank. There is minor damage to the right margin of the manuscript, with some loss to the text.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson sends Scaliger's work on the *Flea*, and on the *Egg* attributed to Simmias or Theocritus, and promises to send more when his affairs are in better order. He urges Camden to write to Scaliger with a copy of his *Britannia*, for that great man thinks highly of its author. Camden should send these items to Renialme, to whom Thomson is sending other material for Scaliger. Thomson has heard nothing more of the Saxon book once described to him by Scaliger, but would like to see it. When Thomson has finished his business in Cambridge, he will visit Camden. Alabaster sends his regards.

Clarissimo viro Gulielmo Camdeno Richardus Thomson s. p.

Mitto ergo, ut convenerat, vir clarissime, *Pulicem* Scaligeri, *Ovum* Simmiae sive Theocriti, alia quae potui.[1] Plura missurus, ubi res meae omnes compositae. Nam modo mera mapalia.[2] Tu, quaeso, quae tua est humanitas, boni consules. Caeterum de *Britannia* tua et literis ad Scaligerum, ut promisisti, facito.[3] Nihil scio sane quod ex tota hac nostra Anglia gratius Semoni isti accidere possit quam si intelligat amari se abs te viro clarissimo, idque eo magis quo pluris ille te facit. Quare ita rem instituas velim.

1 Clarissimo … s. p.] V. Cl. G. Camdeno Richardus Thomson *1691*

1 The former is a Latin poem which Scaliger contributed to a collection relating to Catharine des Roches (1542–1587). It was first printed in *La Puce de Madame Des Roches, qui est un recueil de divers poemes grecs, latins et françois, composez par plusieurs doctes personnages aux grans jours tenus à Poitiers l'an M.D.LXXIX*, Paris, pour Abel l'Angelier, 1582–1583; reprinted in Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1610, pp. 276–278; Scaliger, *Poemata omnia, ex museio Petri Scriverii*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1615, pp. 13–14; Scaliger, *Poemata omnia*, Berlin, 1864, pp. 14–15. The latter is Scaliger's work on Simmias' *Egg*. Thomson had sent a manuscript copy to Casaubon earlier the same year: see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594.

2 For this usage, see Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 9.1.

3 Scaliger acknowledged receipt of these books in his letter to Thomson of 20 December 1594.

Exemplum doctissimi scripti tui et litteras apud Signor Ascanio Renialmes depone, ad quem ego missurus sum omnia illa quae Scaliger ex Anglia mitti voluit, uti simul omnia transferantur.[4] Et tamen de Saxonico illo libro, nihil inaudio. Descripsit illum mihi Scaliger satis ambigue, imagine regis Anglo-Saxonis quam aut praefixam aut insertam olim viderat.[5] Amabo te, vir clarissime, si nosti, cura habeam.[6] Nam de pecunia bona inter nos et bene agetur. Statui enim, nisi quid impediat, statim a comitiis ad vos venire,[7] et praesentem te praesens amplecti, quem sane solum in Anglia Apollinem positis aris veneror. Caeterum hoc scibis proxime. Interim non est quod scribas.

Vale, vir clarissime, doctissime, humanissime, et vive, me ama: ego te dum ero.

Cantabrigiae, a. d. Kal. Iulii, anno M D XCIV.

Salutem ascribi suo nomine plurimam Allibaster iussit.[8]

Thomson (Cambridge) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden) 5 August 1594

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: I, fol. 4^{r-v}.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo viro / Bonaventurae Vulcanio / Graecae linguae professori / in Academia / Leidensi.

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2 illa] *absc.* LBL illa *1691* 6 bona] bona de LBL 10 et humanissime *1691* 13 Allibaster] *sic* LBL, *1691*

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4 Ascanio de Renialme (or Rinialme) was an Italian book dealer based in London. He imported many continental books. See R.B. McKerrow, ed. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557–1640*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 225–226.

5 No letter from Scaliger to Thomson contains this description and Thomson may be recalling a conversation he had with Scaliger in Leiden.

6 That is, 'cura ut habeam', 'please let me have it'. Thomson seems to be referring to Matthew Parker, ed. Asser, *Aelfredi regis res gestae*, [London, John Day, 1574]. It has a woodcut of the King on its title page within an ornamental border, and is printed in 'Saxon' characters. Scaliger had a copy of this book in his library at his death in 1609: see *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 18, item 7.

7 Thomson intends to leave after the *Comitia Maxima*, which concluded the ceremonies surrounding the admission to higher degrees at Cambridge. It was usually held on the first Tuesday in July. In 1594, it fell on 2 July, the day after Thomson wrote this letter. See G. Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge*, London, 1841, p. 11.

8 For William Alabaster, see chapter 5, 'England, 1591–May 1592'.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has returned to Cambridge from Oxford, where the libraries have little of interest to Vulcanius, although he might make good use of manuscripts of Cyril, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Basil and Origen. In Cambridge, Trinity College has a manuscript containing letters of Theophylact of Ohrid and the acts of a Church Council. Thomson has also seen Greek manuscripts of Philostratus and Stobaeus. Should Vulcanius want anything from these, he will send it or bring it himself. He may not be able to visit Leiden before the autumn. Thomson is indebted to their mutual friend, a theologian, and has included notes on Demosthenes for Vulcanius with some books he sent to Scaliger. He sends his regards to Bastinck, Hospita, and his other friends.

Clarissimo viro Bonaventurae Vulcanio Richardus Thomson s.

Cantebrigiam ergo redii, vir clarissime, doctissime, humanissime, postquam Oxonium, et ibidem librarias ociose satis lustravi; et profecto vix aliquid vidi quod ad gustum tuum valde faciat. Extant ibidem pleraque Cyrilli Graece, Chrysostomi, Theodoreti, Basilii, Origenis, quae utinam penes te sint, qui illa cum bono publico possidere potius debebas quam ut hic inutiliter iaceant sepulta. Epistolae Theophylacti in Collegio Sancti Trinitatis Cantebrigiae exstant manuscripto, cum actis Niceni (aut alterius, nam vix memini et liber hic iam non est) Synodi, quae si potero quoquo modo faciam ut habeas, si in rem tuam facere significabis.[1] Cupio enim demereri et perpetuo conservare benevolentiam illam et semper humanitatem tuam in me. Vidi Φilostrati etiam *Icones* et alia; item Stobaei *Eclogas* Graece manuscripto, unde si quid aut describi aut notari voles, proxime significa.[2] Nam aut curabo ad te mittenda, aut (quod

3 ociose] *sic LUB*

1 This manuscript of the letters of Theophylact of Ohrid (d. 1107) is still in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge: ms. 97, of the fifteenth century, has the letters and Gelasius of Cyzicus, Σύνταγμα τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἁγίαν σύνοδον πραχθέντων. See M.R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols, Cambridge, 1900–1904, 1, p. 118. There is no evidence that Thomson ever sent this work to Vulcanius. In 1601, Thomson was sending Scaliger a copy of the letters of Theophylact, possibly the same Trinity College manuscript: see Thomson's letter to Denis Perrot of 1601 (pp. 252–253).

2 The manuscripts which Thomson saw have not been identified. He later owned manuscripts of Philostratus and Stobaeus: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', nos 1 and 2.

valde velim) ipse feram—quanquam an ante brumam expedire me hinc possim haut sciam. Tu tamen id prima data occasione scibis, quam arripiam tum demum ubi commoditas erit mittendorum ostreorum, quod fiet ubi in menses nostros imo suos restituetur caninum illud R.[3] Memini enim centuriam debere me optimo doctissimoque et (quod pluris facio) piissimo viro, et clarissimo theologo amico communi, quem profecto colo.[4] Interim quaeso de valetudine vestra omnium fac sciam. Aevum enim videor mihi hic iam fuisse, quia doctissimis et suavissimis vestris colloquiis privor.

Vale, vir termaxime. Me ama, ego tui observantissimus dum ero. Misi ad te notas quasdam professoris nostri ad Demosthenem, quas adiunxi libellis quibusdam ad illustrem Iosephum Scaligerum unde repetes.[5] Salutem plurimam clarissimo viro D.D. Bastingio, Hospitae nostrae, amicis et convictoribus omnibus.[6] Vale, vir clarissime.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. Non. Augusti, anno M D XCIV. Ignosce summae festinationi.

Isaac Casaubon (Geneva) to Thomson [Cambridge?] 11 October 1594

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 990, p. 578.

NOTE: It seems that this letter was sent by Casaubon to Scaliger in Leiden so that he could forward it to Thomson in England: see Scaliger to Thomson, 20 December 1594. It appears that Casaubon included this letter with a letter of 15 October 1594 to Scaliger, and that letter of Casaubon was not delivered to

11 Salutem … plurimam] s. p. *LUB*

3 The letter R is the *canina litera* in Persius, *Satires*, I.109–110. Thomson refers to months containing the letter 'r': that is, September to March, when oysters are traditionally harvested in England.

4 This theologian has not been identified. He is not Bastinck (Bastingius), who is greeted openly later in the present letter. He might be Jacobus Arminius, who was in Leiden 1576–1582, and in Amsterdam from 1588.

5 The professor was probably Andrew Downes (c. 1549–1628), Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge since 1585 and a student of the Greek orators. Nicholas Carr (d. 1568), Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, made versions of Demosthenes which were published posthumously in 1571, but this edition has no notes. Vulcanius' manuscripts in Leiden seem not to contain any notes on Demosthenes (*Codices manuscripti I: Codices Vulcaniani*, Leiden, 1910).

6 For Jeremias Bastingius (Bastinck, 1551–1595), see Van der Aa, 2, 1855, pp. 52–53; NNBW, 1911–1937, 1, cols 239–241. Thomson sent his regards to Hospita in four letters to Vulcanius, dated 7 May 1594, 30 May 1594, 4 February 1595 and 22 July 1600.

Scaliger until the middle of December. Delivery of the present letter to Thomson must have been delayed still further. The possibility that this letter might embarrass the Wotton family may have led to its exclusion from the editions of Casaubon's letters published in 1638 and 1656.

SYNOPSIS: It was an ill-starred day on which Thomson introduced Wotton and the Polish man to Casaubon. Wotton has since left Geneva owing Casaubon a very substantial sum. He undertook to settle with Casaubon and his other debtors at Frankfurt, but has not done so. Casaubon has now become liable for these debts, and is unable to pay. Casaubon asks Thomson to deliver the enclosed letter to Wotton and to urge the man to do his duty. This done, Casaubon would like to know as soon as possible how the business stands. Wotton has placed Casaubon in a very difficult situation. Casaubon's wife, children, sister-in-law and friends are all thinking of Thomson.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Si quid unquam mihi ex animi sententia evenisse memini, charissime Thomson, ille certe felix mihi dies illuxit quo amicitiae foedus tecum pepigi. Ita mihi in dies crescit amor tui et desiderium. Illos autem non possum faustos appellare dies quibus te interprete amicitia mihi contracta cum Polono illo infelicissimo mortalium et—quod invitus dico—cum Anglo illo quem tu in meas aedes introduxisti.[1] Magno enim nunc mihi amicitia illius constat. Ne te moror pluribus, discessurus ex his locis vir optimus et eruditissimus, quia pecuniam diu frustra expectaverat, egit mecum ut pro se fideiuberem. Feci libens. Quaeris pro qua summa? Ad ducentos triginta aureos et amplius; cum praeter haec debeat ille mihi aureos tres et triginta. Sic inter nos convenerat ut ille Francofurti solveret, et quod mihi et quod alii debebatur.[2] Nihil eorum factum est.

Nunc illud scilicet superest, ut posteaquam spopondi stulte, poenas stultitiae luam, et pro amico tantam summam solvam. Scis tu, mi Thomson, quo loco sint res nostrae, quam difficile sit, vel potius mihi ἀδύνατον, talem summam praestare.[3] 'At amicos habes', inquies. Sane habeo, sed qui possit iuvare me hac in re, ne unum quidem habeo. In uno Wottone spes est omnis. Is sit

1 The 'Anglus' is Henry Wotton. The Polish man has not been identified.

2 This transaction was to have been facilitated by the merchants at the Frankfurt bookfair.

3 Ἀδύνατον: 'impossible'.

mihi Telephus oportet: vulnus fecit, vulnus factum sanet necesse est.[4] Ea fine ad ipsum scripsi literas quas his adiunxi.[5]

Te oro, o animae dimidium meae, te obtestor per nostram amicitiam, cures literas deferendas, hominem inquiras, inventum horteris ad officium; denique non prius quam re confecta conquiescas. Mi Thomson, agitur existimatio mea, agitur de studiis quae mihi vita ipsa sunt chariora. Et tu aliam occasionem expectabis navandae mihi operae quam amicitiae iure debes? Non facies. Novi fidem, novi pietatem tuam. Fac ergo opus appareat, et quam primum scribe ad me quid egeris, quid speres, quid Wotto agat. Ego illum non accuso, tamen per illum in aerumnarum pelagus incidi; nisi sedulo omnia egerit ut me his malis eripiat, ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος ἔσται ἐκεῖνος.[6] Sed faciet, spero, quod virum bonum decet. Iterum atque iterum me et mea tibi commendo. Uxor liberique mei suavissimam tui memoriam servant, idem facit et soror aliique amici.[7]

Vale, corculum meum.

Genevae, raptim in summis solicitudinibus, a. d. V Id. Octobris M D XCIV.

Deus te servet, mi Thomson.

Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [London?] 20 December 1594

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 10303, p. 451.
PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 232, pp. 500–501.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 232, pp. 459–460.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 473–474.
TEXT: The manuscript copy in Paris came to light after the publication of the edition of Scaliger's correspondence in 2012. The

11 ἀνέστιος] *correxi ex* ἀνέσιος *c-1709*

4 Telephus received a wound from Achilles that would not heal. He consulted an oracle, which told him that he could only be healed by the one who had wounded him: see W. Smith, ed. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, 3 vols, London, 1872, 3, p. 990, *s. v.* 'Telephus'.

5 Casaubon's letter to Wotton bears the same date as the present letter to Thomson: 11 October 1594. It was first printed in Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 991, pp. 578–579.

6 Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος ἔσται ἐκεῖνος: 'that man will be brotherless, lawless, homeless'. A variation on Homer, *Iliad*, IX.63.

7 Casaubon's sister Anna.

copy seems to have been made from Scaliger's lost autograph, perhaps by Etienne Guichard for Pierre de L'Estoile. I am grateful to Tom Hamilton for bringing this copy to my attention. Its text predates the stylistic revisions made by Daniel Heinsius for his edition of 1627. In the present edition, the text of the Paris manuscript has been generally preferred. At some points, however, Heinsius clearly understood his text better than the copyist. The edition of 1628 was set from that of 1627 and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

NOTE: In the editions of 1627 and 1628, the two letters which follow no. 230 are both numbered 232. Had it been numbered correctly, the present letter would have been no. 232.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger has already sent Thomson a letter and books to be forwarded to Camden, and has received Camden's admirable *Britannia*. He forwards Casaubon's letters to Thomson and Wotton, and includes his *Appendix ad Cyclometrica* for Thomson and Savile. The *Appendix* will show how rudely and hastily some have judged the *Cyclometrica*. Scaliger is preparing the second edition of *De emendatione temporum*. He sends his regards to Camden.

Iosephus Scaliger Richardo Thomson suo s.

Scripsi ad te antea, mi Thomsoni, et puto te literas eas una cum libris quos ad te et Cambdeno nostro mittebam accepisse.[1] Pervenit tandem in manus meas ipsius Cambdeni Anglici opus eximium καὶ παντὸς φθόνου κρεῖττον, quo nomine gratias immortales illi ago.[2] Neque nunc otium est illi testari quanti ego illud opus, quanti eius in me benevolentiam facio. Accepi nudiustertius literas ad me

1 Iosephus … Thomson] Richardo Thomsoni *s-1627* 2 Thomsoni] Thomson *s-1627* 2–3 quos … nostro] quos ad Cambdenum nostrum *s-1627* 3 Pervenit] *pp* κρεῖττον *s-1627* 6 facio] faciam *s-1627* ‖ Accepi] *pp* nostro *s-1627*

1 Scaliger's letter is lost: the present letter is the first extant from Scaliger to Thomson. No letters from Scaliger to William Camden survive, but Scaliger's statement may refer only to books sent to Camden.

2 Καὶ παντὸς φθόνου κρεῖττον: 'and greater than all envy'. Thomson had urged Camden to send Scaliger a copy of *Britannia* in his letter of 1 July 1594, *q. v.* The first edition of Camden's *Britannia* was printed in London in 1586. The fourth edition was published in 1594, and this must be the edition which Scaliger has received. It is recorded in the catalogue of Scaliger's library at his death in 1609: 'Britannia Camdeni. Lond. 94' (*The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, sig. c2r).

et ad te a Casaubono nostro, quas tibi mitto ea sedulitate qua ille a me exegit ut eas ad te mittendas curarem. Permagni enim sua interesse scribit ut ad te tuto una cum illis quas ad Wotonos scribit perferantur.[3]

Mitto etiam tibi appendicem nostram ad *Cyclometrica* nostra;[4] unam etiam ad Savellum, virum doctissimum—cuius nomen ne apponerem, caussa fuit quod illud ignoro. Audio quosdam istic in ipsa *Cyclometrica* scribere: an sit ipse Savellus, nescio.[5] Tamen ex hac appendice poterunt scire quam inciviliter quidam de meo opere iudicarint, quum primum illud in eorum manus incidit.[6] Nam sane velint nolint, rem ipsam confecimus.

1–2 tibi … 9 eas] ea sedulitate ad te mitto qua ille a me exegit ut *s-1627* 3 una] pariter *s-1627* ‖ Wotonos] Wetonos *PBnF* Wottonos *s-1627* 4 Mitto … nostra] etiam Appendicem ad Cyclometrica nostra tibi mitto *s-1627* 4–5 unam … 12 Savellum] sed et unam ad Savillium *s-1627* 5 caussa] causa *s-1627* 6 ignoro illud *s-1627* ‖ quosdam … Cyclometrica] in ipsa Cyclometrica quosdam *s-1627* 7 ipse] opto *PBnF* ‖ Savellus] Savillius *s-1627* ‖ scire potuerunt *s-1627* 8 quidam … 16 incidit] de meo opere nonnulli, quum primum in eorum manus incidit, iudicaverint *s-1627* 9 Nam … ipsam] rem sane ipsam velint nolint *s-1627*

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3 Scaliger has received three letters. The first is Casaubon to Thomson, 11 October 1594. The second is Casaubon's letter to Henry Wotton, bearing the same date as his letter to Thomson, first printed in Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 991, pp. 578–579. The third is Casaubon to Scaliger, 15 October 1594 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 450–453). In the last of these, Scaliger was asked by Casaubon to forward the letters to Thomson and Wotton in England.

4 Scaliger sent another copy of the *Appendix* to Casaubon in 1594: see Scaliger to Casaubon, 20 November 1594 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 470).

5 Henry Savile had indeed written notes on Scaliger's *Cyclometrica*. In a letter dated 15 March 1595, Johannes Praetorius asked Savile to publish them, and Scaliger wrote to his critic with a similar request the same year: see Scaliger to Savile, 5 April 1595 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 505–509). Scaliger had received some material from Savile by June 1595: see Scaliger to Thomson, 14 June 1595. The notes which Savile made in the margin of his copy of the *Cyclometrica* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile Ee.1 (4)) were never published, but Thompson may have informed Scaliger of them: see J. Glucker, 'An autograph letter of Joseph Scaliger to Sir Henry Savile', *Scientiarum Historia*, 8, 1966, no. 4, pp. 214–224, pp. 221–222; R. Goulding, 'Polemic in the Margin: Henry Savile against Joseph Scaliger's Quadrature of the Circle', in D. Jacquart and C. Burnett, eds, *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Geneva, 2005, pp. 241–259, p. 258; Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 388–389.

6 Twelve days after the publication of the *Cyclometrica*, Ludolf van Ceulen advised Scaliger to stop the distribution of the work: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 419, n. 8. François Viète published his refutation in 1594, Adrianus Romanus did so in 1597, and Christopher Clavius waited until 1609: see ibid., 2, pp. 388–389, and P.P. Bockstaele, 'The Correspondence of Adriaan van Roomen', *Lias*, 3, 1976, pp. 85–129 and 249–299, p. 113, n. 5.

Libros *De emendatione temporum* pene totos immutavimus. Novum opus est et nova foetura. Atque, ut mihi quoque blandiar, non indignum quod lucem videat alia forma atque alio corpore.[7]

Tu vale et nos ama, ac Cambdenum nostrum meo nomine saluta.

Lugduni Batavorum, XIII Kal. Ianuarii M D XCIIII. 5

Thomson (London) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden) 4 February 1595

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: I, fol. 5$^{r–v}$.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo Viro / Bonaventurae Vulcanio / Lugduni Batavorum.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson would like to know that the work of Nicholas of Methone has arrived safely. He enjoyed Nicholas' criticisms of Proclus, and regrets that they are unable to discuss the work in person. He has recently entered the service of a courtier, with whom he is reading history and philosophy, including Vulcanius' excellent edition of Apuleius. There is a manuscript of Euripides at Cambridge with Greek scholia. They are trivial, but even had they been valuable, the College would not have lent the manuscript to Vulcanius. The same library has a good manuscript of John of Salisbury: had Thomson known the work was being printed in Leiden, he might have been able to help. He has heard that there has been serious unrest in the Low Countries, and asks for further news. He greets his friends in Leiden, particularly Halsius, whom he is sorry to have missed in England. He also greets Hospita, Vulcanius' wife, and Bastinck.

Clarissimo viro Bonaventurae Vulcanio Richardus Thomson s.

Feliciter, mi Vulcani! Rediitne Nicolaus Methonensis ille quem sane legere mavelim quam sexcenta alia eiusdem generis?[1] Idque propter Proclum, in quo

1 immutavimus] minutavimus *PBnF* 2 ut] ut non *PBnF* 2–3 lucem videat] *pp* corpore *s-1627* 5 M D XCIV *s-1627*

7 The second, revised, edition of *De emendatione temporum* was published in 1598: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 81–83.

1 For Nicolaus, the twelfth-century bishop of Methone, see J.T. Voemel, ed. *Nicolai Methonen-*

sane paralogismos et errores plurimos deprehendi, etiam in doctrina Platonica.[2] Ita saepe fit dum nimis praecipites et ingeniosi sumus. Quanquam Deus, spero, aliquando mihi eam gratiam faciet ut coram de iis loqui et confabulari possimus. Hactenus impeditus vix potero. In vinclis enim sum, non Hercle Lipsianis istis Iunoniis et herilibus, sed aulicis et aureis.[3] Addixi enim operam meam nobilissimo cuidam viro in aula regia, cui a studiis sum.[4] Legimus historiam, aut philosophum aliquam ethicum, aliquam etiam naturalem; nuper etiam Apuleium tuum, sed philosophum.[5] Gratias tibi debeo sane quod me sexcentis in locis expedias, ubi aut merae umbrae, aut sensus infensus. Obsecro perge et iam aliud tibi ferrum in igne sit.[6] Habes thesaurus penes te, quos velim proferas. Beabis nos.

De Euripide quod quaeris, ita est. Exstat Cantabrigiae cum scholiis Graecis, sed plane reiculis et nugatoriis. Ipse percurri; quanquam si bonae sint, nullo modo usus tibi impetrari possit extra Collegium.[7] Exstant ibidem Ioannis Sali-

6 regia … sum] regia ~~quicum de~~ \cui a/ studiis ~~consor~~ sum *LUB* 9 ubi] \ubi/ *LUB* 10 tibi] *forte LUB*

sis refutatio institutionis theologicae Procli Platonici, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1820–1825. Vulcanius discusses Nicolaus' work in the preface to his edition of Nilus: *Nili archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis de primatu Papae Romani libri duo, ex Bibliotheca Vaticana. B. Vulcanio interprete. His accessit De igne purgatorio liber singularis: eodem interprete*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595, sigs **1r–**3r. Vulcanius owned a Greek manuscript of Nicolaus, *Adversus Latinos de spiritu sancto*, Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 3, fols 271r–331v (*Codices manuscripti I: Codices Vulcaniani*, Leiden, 1910, pp. 3–4).

2 Thomson later owned two works of Proclus in manuscript: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', nos 4 and 5.

3 Thomson alludes to Vulcanius' recent marriage: in Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594, wedding preparations prevent Vulcanius from writing to Casaubon. The precise nature of the allusion is unclear to me.

4 This patron is probably William Killigrew, rather than his son Robert Killigrew, at this date only sixteen years old: see A. Bellany, 'Killigrew, Sir Robert (1579/80–1633)', ODNB, 2004, 31, pp. 562–564.

5 That is, not the *Golden Ass*, the *Florida*, or the *Apologia*, but the more serious works by, or ascribed to, Apuleius. They had just been reprinted in Leiden by Vulcanius: *L. Apuleii Madaurensis Opera omnia quae exstant, e quibus, post ultimam P. Colvii editionem, philosophici libri ope vetustiss. cod. ms. innumeris mendis expurgati; quamplurimis locis aucti per Bon. Vulcanium Brugensem*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Christophorum Raphelengium, 1594.

6 See Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 3400: 'nunc tuum ferrum in igni est'.

7 Thomson may have consulted Cambridge, Corpus Christi, ms. 403, a fifteenth-century copy of the so-called 'Byzantine triad', *Hecuba*, *Orestes* and *Phoenissae*. It is recorded in the College library in 1600: James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600, p. 88, no. 261. For a fuller

sberiensis illa quae apud vos iam sub prelo, auctiora sane et meliora.[8] Si scissem, poteram vos forte iuvisse: nunc ocii mei non est.

Sed quid? Etiamne apud vos turbae illae veteres? Deus bone, quid audio? Ita enim narrant ad arma aliquoties ventum, periisse etiam aliquos, alios in carcere detineri. Haec in corpore mala; in capite etiam nescio quae phrenesis, a qua valde vexetur. Dii meliora precor erroremque hostibus illum. Obsecro, quid rerum agatur, perscribe. Res inter nos sit.

Contubernalibus nostris omnibus salutem, etiam optimo Halsio, quem doleo invisum mihi in Anglia.[9] Nuper cum more meo iocarer aliqua in taberna, nomen ipsius quod ille pessimo loco, Hercle, sculpserat vino respersi, alii lotio solent.[10] Dominae Hospitae, optimae faeminae, salutem.[11]

Vale, vir clarisime. Me ama: ego te dum ero. Clarissimo viro et theologo summo domino Bastingio salutem officiosissime.[12]

Londini, Pridie Non. Februarii anno 95.

Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [London or Cambridge] 14 June 1595

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 10303, p. 452.
PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 233, p. 501.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 233, p. 460.

2 ocii] *sic LUB*

description, see M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1912, 2, pp. 268–269, no. 403.

8 Thomson may have consulted Cambridge, Corpus Christi, ms. 46. It is recorded in the College library in 1600: James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600, p. 85, no. 218. For a fuller description, see M.R. James (as in previous note), 1, pp. 92–93. Publication was imminent when Thomson was writing the present letter: John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud F. Raphelengium, 1595.

9 Nicolaus Halsius, who seems to have died in late May or early June 1595: see Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1913, pp. 359*-360*.

10 This seems to mean that Halsius had carved his name on a tavern wall, and that while Thomson respectfully sprinkled the name with wine, in the manner of an offering, others usually urinated on it.

11 Thomson sent his regards to Hospita in four letters to Vulcanius, dated 7 May 1594, 30 May 1594, 5 August 1594 and 22 July 1600.

12 For Jeremias Bastingius (Bastinck, 1551–1595), see Van der Aa, 2, 1855, pp. 52–53; NNBW, 1911–1937, 1, cols 239–241.

Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 522.

TEXT: The manuscript copy in Paris came to light after the publication of the edition of Scaliger's correspondence in 2012. It seems to have been made from Scaliger's lost autograph, and its text predates the stylistic revisions made by Daniel Heinsius for his edition of 1627. The edition of 1628 was set from that of 1627 and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus. In the present edition, the text of the Paris manuscript has been preferred.

NOTE: A Dutch paraphrase of this letter is in P.L.M. Grootens, *Dominicus Baudius: een levensschets uit het Leidse humanistenmilieu, 1561–1613*, Nijmegen, 1942, p. 78.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger has not read what Savile sent him. He regrets the mistakes in his *Cyclometrica*, but intends to teach his critics a lesson. He asks Thomson to collate Vitruvius with an old copy.

Richardo Thomsoni suo s.

Non licet mihi per occupationes meas tecum pluribus agere: alias scribam prolixius. Nondum legi quae ad me misit Henricus Savelius.[1] Scio mihi multa aliud agenti excidisse in *Cyclometricis*, et sane dolet, piget taedetque. Sed post omnium latratus dabitur aliquando respirandi locus,[2] et habemus quod correctores nostros doceamus.

Oro te per amicitiam nostram, ut si tibi copia detur, Vitruvium cum veteri exemplari conferre.[3] Illum laborem ne graveris mea gratia. Maximo beneficio me devinxeris. Quod te iterum atque iterum rogo.

Vale.

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1 suo s.] *om. s-1627* 3 Henricus Savillius misit *s-1627* 4 in Cyclometricis excidisse *s-1627* 5 aliquando respirandi dabitur *s-1627* 7 per amicitiam nostram te oro *s-1627* ‖ copia tibi *s-1627* 8–9 me devinxeris beneficio *s-1627*

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1 This may have been a letter from Savile to Scaliger which has been preserved in part: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 509–511. Thomson may have alerted Scaliger to Savile's criticisms: see J. Glucker, 'An autograph letter of Joseph Scaliger to Sir Henry Savile', *Scientiarum Historia*, 8, 1966, no. 4, pp. 214–224, pp. 221–222.

2 Compare Cicero, *Ad Q. fratrem*, III.1.7: 'Romae respirandi non est locus'.

3 This reference to a copy of Vitruvius is so imprecise that Thomson must have spoken of it in the lost letter to which the present letter is a reply. That this copy was a manuscript appears from Scaliger's letter to Fridericus Lindenbrogius, 18 August 1596: 'Vitruvium Thomson suum

XVIII Kal. Iulias M D XCV.

De Wultone quaeso memineris. Audio Casauboni bibliothecam eo nomine dissoluendo in auctione venisse.[4]

Thomson (London) to Isaac Casaubon [Geneva] 9 August 1595

AUTOGRAPH: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon 19 (Western 3649), final leaf.

COPY: Leiden, University Library, Gro. 93, fol. 111r–v.

PRINT: J. Glucker, 'Richard Thomson to Isaac Casaubon, 1596', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 30, 1968, pp. 149–153.

TEXT: The autograph letter is bound at the end of Casaubon's working copy of Polybius. This edition of Polybius once included Perotti's Latin translation (Basle, Hervagius, no date). The title page is *sine anno*, but the preface is dated 1529. An inscription on the title page states that Casaubon had this copy from Petrus Perillaeus on 1 January 1582. The volume, which ends on p. 282, is heavily annotated by Casaubon. The final flyleaf is annotated by Casaubon, followed by two leaves of notes in the same hand, after which is bound Thomson's autograph letter. Thomson's letter ends at the foot of the leaf. It lacks the final words, running from 'Dominus Savilus' to 'anno 95'. There is no reason to suppose that the scribe of the copy in Leiden University Library fabricated these words, and Thomson may have written them on the lost envelope. Glucker's edition is based on the Bodleian Library autograph, although he does not identify it as such. He was unaware of the Leiden copy and as a consequence the date he assigns to it is incorrect. Glucker's variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

2–3 De … venisse] *om. s-1627*

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nuper mihi utendum ex Anglia misit; manuscriptum quidem illum sed non meliorem excusis, imo in multis et longe deteriorem' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 643).

4 This postscript is not present in the edition of 1627, apparently a piece of active censorship on the part of its editor Daniel Heinsius to spare Wotton's embarrassment. For the incident, see chapter 11, 'England, June 1594–August? 1596'.

NOTE: Casaubon had received this letter by the time he wrote his letter of 8 October 1595 to Jacques Bongars: see Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 42, pp. 26–27.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has replied to Casaubon's latest letter and explained his dealings with Wotton on Casaubon's behalf. Wotton has shown Thomson letters which indicate that he has paid his debts in Geneva, and Thomson asks Casaubon to confirm that this is so. Lipsius' work on Polybius is full of errors: he cites several examples. A note from Savile's work on Tacitus resolves one problem, though Savile is reluctant to send Casaubon his notes on Polybius. Thomson would like a copy of Casaubon's edition of Suetonius; he has still not had one of Casaubon's Apuleius. He offers to send any material on Athenaeus Mechanicus which Casaubon may want. Lipsius' work on war machines will be much the poorer if he does not consult Athenaeus. Thomson has sent Torelli's work on the history of Verona and Procopius' *On Buildings*. In another package, he sent works by Philo, Lucretius and Simplicus. Thomson greets Casaubon's wife and family, and Savile sends his regards to Casaubon.

Clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s.

Literis tuis novissimis pridem respondi, vir praestantissime.[1] Atque utinam ego rescissem quod superioribus nundinis trico ille tuus H. Wotton egerit! Nam profecto communis mihi tecum iste casus.[2] Quare—Deum testem laudo—omnia ago ut tibi satisfiat. Scripsi via Parisiensi quid novissime ille responderit, et puto te pridem cognovisse.[3] Ostendit literas sibi Norimberga scriptas quae creditoribus Genevensibus satisfactum suo nomine aiebant; quae talia si ipse confinxerit, ego sane humani aut divini nihil ipsi porro accredam. Quapropter si ita est, quaeso significa, ut qui tecum condoluimus, tecum quoque conlaetemur. Sin minus, extrema omnia tentemus.

7 Genevensibus ~~feci~~ *OBL*

1 Casaubon's most recent extant letter to Thomson, dated 11 October 1594, is unlikely to be intended here. Thomson's response to Casaubon's lost letter is also lost.

2 Thomson seems to mean that Wotton also owed him money.

3 This letter from Thomson to Casaubon regarding Wotton's debt has not survived. For its settlement, see chapter 11, 'England, June 1594–August? 1596'.

De Suetonio et Polybio quod scribis, Deus bone, quam nos recreavit! Nam Lipsius, etsi in Polybio edendo sudaverit, tamen multis locis turpissime lapsus est. Quid enim est illud in fronte statim libri, 'oportet pedites vicena stipendia explere, etsi necessitas adigat explere debent vicena stipendia'?[4] Ego ista sane non capio, neque tu, sat scio. Ego plane assentior doctissimo tuique studiosissimo Savilo nostro qui in notis suis ad Tacitum ἓξ καὶ δέκα pro ἕξ legit, quod etiam loci aliquot a Lipsio laudati plane convincunt.[5] Id enim tempus legitimum et ordinarium fuit, quanquam postea in eo, ut aliis sexcentis, variatum. Deinde 'principia in castris' quae fuerint, obsecro te an satis intellexit? Sane 'τὰ ἀρχαῖα' quae Graeci vocant, non sunt via aliqua, ut ille putat.[6] Sed haec talia tu facile dispicis, qui eruditio et ingenio nulli cedis. Fuerat ad te missurus Henricus Savilus quaedam sua ad Polybium, sed opus sibi monitore ut putat.

De Suetonio fac quod promittis et mitte exemplum, idque diligentius quam Apuleium, quem ego nunquam vidi.[7] Caeterum de Athenaeo nolim te negli-

4 Thomson paraphrases Lipsius' translation of a fragment of Polybius (VI.19.1–5), which deals with the length of miltary service required of the cavalry and infantry in the Roman army. Lipsius' version reads: 'At reliquorum equites quidem dena, pedites vicena stipendia explere oportet necessario in annis quadraginta sex a nativitate … Quod siquando res et circumstans necessitas eo adigunt, debent pedites facere annua vicena stipendia' (Lipsius, *De militia Romana libri quinque, Commentarius ad Polybium*, Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana, 1595–1596, book 1, ch. 1, pp. 5–6). Casaubon's translation, based on a better Greek text, is clearer: 'Civibus enim plane est necessum stipendia facere intra annum aetatis quadragesimum sextum, equitibus quidem dena, peditibus vero sena dena …. Quod si casus aliquis gravior urgeat, vicena stipendia annua peditibus sunt facienda' (*Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609, p. 466).

5 Ἓξ καὶ δέκα: 'sixteen'; ἕξ 'six'. Henry Savile, *The ende of Nero and beginning of Galba. Fower bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The life of Agricola*, Oxford, by Joseph Barnes for Richard Wright, 1591, part 2, p. 54.

6 Thomson refers to Lipsius' commentary on Polybius' account of the dimensions and plan of the Roman legionary camp in Lipsius, *De militia Romana libri quinque, Commentarius ad Polybium*, Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana, 1595–1596, book 5, ch. 4, pp. 33–35. The passage on which Lipsius comments, Polybius, VI.28.1–30.6, does not use the word ἀρχαῖα, but does use the transliteration πρίγκιπες. Lipsius believed that Polybius was talking about 'principia', an open space within the camp, where in fact Polybius was talking about 'principes', a component of the soldiery of the legion.

7 For Casaubon's Suetonius, published in 1595, see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594, note 23. His Apuleius had been published the previous year: *L. Apuleii … Apologia. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, Graeca supplevit, et castigationum libellum adiecit*, [Heidelberg], ex Typographeio

gere. Si tibi usui esse possunt Athenaei sive illius sive alterius mechanica quae hic manuscripto Graece extant, dabo operam ut habeas.[8] Sane ego non video quid Lipsius sine illis dignum laude praestare possit in eo quem de instrumentis bellicis promittit commentario.[9]

Misi ad te, vir clarissime, per mercatores nostros Torelli *Veronam*,[10] Procopium Περὶ κτισμάτων Iustiniani Graece, quem tantopere expetere te aiebas;[11] item alio fasciculo Philonem *De animalibus* Graece Lat.,[12] Lucretium Gifanii,[13] et Simplicium εἰς τὰ περὶ φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως;[14] quae omnia ita excipe quasi ab amicissimo et tui studiosissimo, quod sane ita est, missa sint.[15]

7 Philonem] Philon. *OBL* Philen *LUB*

H. Comelini, 1594. Thomson had a copy of Vulcanius' edition of Apuleius' version of *De mundo* and Vulcanius' edition of the works of Apuleius: see Thomson's letters to Vulcanius of 29 December 1591 and 4 February 1595.

8 For Thomson's manuscript of Athenaeus Mechanicus, see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

9 The work was published the following year: *Iusti Lipsii Poliorceticωn, sive de machinis, tormentis, telis, libri quinque. Ad historiarum lucem*, Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam, et Ioannem Moretum, 1596.

10 Torellus Sarayna, *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae. Eiusdem de viris illustribus antiquis Veronensibus*, Verona, ex officina Antonii Putelleti, 1540. Sarayna's work was reprinted several times. Casaubon may have wanted it in connection with a work in defence of Scaliger's ancestry which he was contemplating.

11 Περὶ κτισμάτων: 'On buildings', the work by Procopius known in Latin as *De aedificiis*. Thomson noticed a Greek manuscript of the work in a postscript to his letter to Casaubon of 27 December 1593. Casaubon asked for it in his letter to Thomson of 25 April 1594.

12 The full text of Philo of Alexandria's *De animalibus* was first published in an Armenian translation in the nineteenth century: *Philonis Iudaei Sermones tres hactenus inediti: I et II de providentia et III de animalibus, ex Armena versione antiquissima ab ipso originali textu Graeco ad verbum stricte exequuta, nunc primum in Latium fideliter translati per P.I.B. Aucher. Arm. et Lat.*, Venice, 1822.

13 The edition in question is: *T. Lucretii Cari de rerum natura libri sex, ad postremam O. Gifanii … emendationem accuratissme restituti*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595.

14 That is, Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*. Thomson may have sent the Aldine *editio princeps* of the Greek text: *Simplicii commentarii in octo Aristotelis Physicae auscultationis libros*, Venice, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Asulani soceri, 1526.

15 The following year, Casaubon talks of two *fasciculi* of books which have not arrived and which were apparently lost: see Casaubon to Thomson, 26 August 1596.

Vale, vir clarissime. Me ama: ego te dum ero. Uxori lectissimae, sorori, affini, caeterisque adeo benevolentibus omnibus salutem plurimam. Dominus Savilus te plurimam iubet.[16]

Londini, a. d. v Id. Augusti, anno 95.

Isaac Casaubon (Geneva) to Thomson [London or Cambridge]
26 August 1596

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1638, no. 600, pp. 703–704.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1656, no. 77, pp. 96–97.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 79, p. 45.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon was delighted to receive Thomson's letter of 1 July and to learn that he is to visit Geneva on his way to Italy. That land was once a nursery of talent, but is now contemptuous of northern European learning. On Thomson's return, Casaubon would like to hear Italian opinions of his own writings, although he doubts that his studies are to their taste. He will not send a list of books he would like to have, for fear of imposing on their friendship. Besides, Thomson already knows the contents of Casaubon's library, which has not grown much since he last saw it. Casaubon will be glad to acquire any work of learning with which he is unfamiliar. Casaubon's family send their regards.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Diu exspectavi literas tuas, ὡ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἥμισυ.[1] Mirabar quid esset quod tam diu sileret tuus amor, et refrixisse illum ne suspicatus quidem unquam sum: humanae potius sortis memor, fingebam animo sexcenta pericula vel tua, vel earum quas ad me dedisses. Tandem metu omni et sollicitudine sum liberatus, cum tuas a. d. Kalend. Iulii scriptas accepi.[2] Quid tibi nunc dicam,

2–4 Dominus … anno 95] *om.* OBL 5 Richardo Thomsoni] eidem *C-1638*

16 'Te plurimam iubet': This compressed formula survives in the copy in Leiden University Library, but is not in the autograph.

1 A Greek translation of Horace, *Carmina*, book 1, no. 3, l. 8: 'animae dimidium meae'.

2 This letter from Thomson to Casaubon, dated 1 July 1596, has not been found. Evidently, the letter informed Casaubon of his forthcoming visit to Italy and asked Casaubon to supply

quibus gaudiis elatus animus mihi sit, ubi tuas vidi, inspexi, legi? Erat tanti doluisse adeo et tam diu, ut postea tantis laetitiis ἀθρόως afficerer.[3] Quid? Tu igitur ad nos aliquando reversurus es? O diem illum mihi laetum et festum, qui te mihi osculandum amplectendumque sistet! Tu, Deus magne, votis annue, et in illud nos serva tempus.

In Italiam tendere te, cum voluptate haud mediocri ex tuis didici. Negare non possumus nutriculam olim eam fuisse, et veluti matrem ingeniorum; nunc de iis quid sentiam, qui per Italiam soli sapere cluent,[4] nolo tibi indicare, ne tu fortasse me apud Lucumones istos deferas, qui nos transalpinos meros fungos et Musarum ἐκτρώματα existimant.[5] Cum inde reverteris, volupe mihi erit, quid ipsis videatur de nostris scriptiunculis ex te audire. Sed ne quid dissimulem, praeter admodum paucos vere γονίμους κριτικούς, vix illuc nomen nostrum penetrasse putem;[6] adeo diversa studia sunt quae colimus ab iis quae sola ibi florent et in pretio sunt.

Catalogorum quaerendorum mihi in illis oris librorum nullum mitto. Nam etsi te mea causa omnia velle persuasus sum, mihi tamen etiam et etiam videndum cavendumque est ne facilitate amici abusus dici queam. Accedit quod census omnis noster librarius ὀλίγου δεῖν tibi est notus.[7] Nam post tuum a nobis discessum paucos admodum e raris nactus sum;[8] eos nempe quos vel tuus amor mihi dono misit, vel gratia Bongarsii.[9] Duit Deus utrique ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθίδας pro ista adversum me benignitate.[10] Nam etsi duo fasciculi postremi

2 quid tu? Tu *c-1656*

a list of *desiderata*. On the day Thomson wrote this lost letter, he was incorporated M.A. at Oxford: see chapter 11, 'England, June 1594–August? 1596'.

3 Ἀθρόως: 'generally', with connotations of 'abundantly'.

4 See Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 1253: 'solus sapit'.

5 Ἐκτρώματα: 'abortions', 'untimely births'.

6 Γονίμους κριτικούς: 'productive judges', 'fertile minds'.

7 Ὀλίγου δεῖν: 'to lack a little'.

8 Casaubon refers to Thomson's stay in Geneva in the summer of 1593.

9 For Jacques Bongars, see DBF, 1954, 6, cols 951–952; V. Neeracher, *Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der Gelehrtenbibliothek des Jakob Bongars, 1554–1612: Teilarbeit*, [no place], 1969; R. Kohlndorfer-Fries, *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik: die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jacques Bongars (1554–1612)*, Tübingen, 2009; F. Mittenhuber, ed. *Jacques Bongars: Humanist, Diplomat, Büchersammler*, Bern, 2012.

10 The proverbial phrase ἀγαθων ἀγαθίδες, 'bundles of goods', occurs among the fragments of the seventh book of Strabo's *Geography*, a work edited by Casaubon: *Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, [Geneva], excudebat Eustathius Vignon Atrebat., 1587, p. 228. Casaubon does not comment on the phrase. He uses it again in Casaubon to Thomson, 1 January 1597.

tui perfidia quorundam mihi periere, non tamen et tibi, cui pares gratiae etiam pro illis a me habentur, ac pro reliquis fide meliori curatis.[11] Omnino siquid Graeci, Latini, Hebraici nobis invisum illic inveneris et mihi comparaveris, rem feceris gratissimam. At illud super omnia gratum et commodum, si brevi inde ad nos advolaris, priusquam tui expectatione plane tabescamus.

Vale, et me ama, ac creberrimas literas mitte si salvum esse vis. Uxor, soror, liberi te plurimum salvere iubent.[12] Iterum vale.

Genevae, a. d. VII Kalend. Septembris M D XCVI.

Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier) to Thomson [Geneva] 1 January 1597

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1638, no. 601, p. 704.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1656, no. 110, pp. 127–128.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 113, p. 60.

NOTE: The reply to this letter is extant: Thomson to Casaubon, 10 April 1597.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon believes that Thomson has received his previous letter. His arrival in Montpellier was recounted in letters to his relatives in Geneva, and Thomson has no doubt seen these. The authorities at Montpellier received him well. Casaubon reminds Thomson of the promises he made in Geneva. When Thomson has finished with Casaubon's notes on Aeschylus, he should give them to Saracenus or Paul Estienne who will forward them to Montpellier. Casaubon is eager to receive the extracts from Servius' commentary. He is awaiting with some anxiety the safe arrival of the ship transporting his entire library from Geneva. Thomson has written to Scaliger on his behalf: Casaubon will write to him himself as soon as he can. Casaubon and his family send their regards to Robert. Casaubon commends his twice-widowed sister to Thomson.

11 In Thomson to Casaubon, 9 August 1595, Thomson spoke of two *fasciculi* containing books. These appear to be the packages referred to here by Casaubon.

12 Casaubon's sister Anna.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Quas Lugduno ad te dedi, fuisse tibi redditas, ὦ αὐτάδελφον ἐμοὶ κάρα, confido: eo nunc ero brevior.[1] Nam et valetudo brevitatis me admonebat, et argumentum scribendi ad te nullum admodum suppeditabat; quod enim suppetebat solum de adventu meo in hanc urbem, id omne iam exhaustum est literis ad fratrem et sororem, quas tibi quoque ostensum iri nullus dubito.[2] Omnino spem atque expectationem nostram hactenus senatus populusque Monspeliensis superarunt: τὸ μέλλον Θεὸς οἶδε, ᾧ δὴ οὐ μόνον τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν μέλει καὶ μέλοι.[3] Quae mihi discedenti sunt a te promissa, eorum ut me esse futurumque memorem ipse memineris, oro te quaesoque.[4] Ipse vicissim quicquid tua caussa potero, faciam memorem agnoscas et amicitiae et acceptorum beneficiorum.

Aeschyleas schedas nostras curae tibi esse cupio: cum fueris usus, Sarraceno trades, aut Paulo fratri, ut ad me tuto curentur.[5] Simul exspecto illa Servii τοῦ τριποθήτου excerpta, et si quid in eo genere habes quod usui mihi esse possit.[6] Ego hic meorum librorum expectatione crucior μανικὸν ὅσον.[7] Octavus hic dies

1 Richardo Thomsoni] eidem *c-1638* 9 μέλει] *correxi ex* μέλειτε *c-1638* μέλλειτε *c-1656*, *c-1709*

1 Ὦ αὐτάδελφον ἐμοὶ κάρα: loosely, 'O my brother'. Compare the first line of Sophocles' *Antigone*: Ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα. A similar turn of phrase is used in Thomson to Perrot, 22 July 1600, Thomson to Casaubon, 24 May 1608, and Thomson to Casaubon, 7 July 1608. No letter from Casaubon in Lyon ('Lugdunum') to Thomson has come to light. Casaubon was in Lyon from the middle of November until the end of December 1596.

2 Casaubon had no brothers: he refers here to his brother-in-law Paul Estienne (Stephanus) in Geneva. The sister seems to be the same whom Casaubon commends to Thomson later in this letter. Casaubon thanks Thomson for his services to this sister in his letter to Thomson of 17 February 1597. That Casaubon expected Thomson to have read these letters to his family suggests some intimacy between them.

3 'God knows the future, for which he takes care (and let him take care!) not only of what is beyond us, but also of our immediate needs'.

4 These commitments may have been made by letter, but Thomson was in Geneva when Casaubon left for Montpellier in December 1596.

5 Casaubon appears to have entrusted Thomson with these notes while they were together at Geneva. For Casaubon's work on Aeschylus, see E. Fraenkel, ed. *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, Oxford, 1950, 1, pp. 62–78. For Johannes Saracenus, see chapter 6, 'Germany, May 1592–April 1593'.

6 'Servii τοῦ τριποθήτου': 'of the much longed-for Servius'. Thomson had these fragments from Pierre Daniel's Servius from Scaliger: see Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 30 May 1594 and 10 April 1597.

7 μανικὸν ὅσον: 'with a great passion'.

est cum appulimus ad portum, et adhuc (proh dolor!) quid sit illis factum nescimus. Atqui mecum advexi librorum scriptorum meorum ne γρὺ quidem.[8] Ita omnes meas fortunas una habet navis, quam Deus ter optimus maximus servet, regat, sistatque huc quam primum. Nam si quid illis factum fuerit—sed male ominari nolo.

Scripsisse te ad Scaligerum meam vicem persuasus sum.[9] Mihi adhuc inter salutantium officia nihil otii fuit: scribam tamen hodie, spero, vel cras.[10] Nobilem tuum, vere nobilem Robertum, ego, uxor, liberi tecum amantissime salutamus.[11] Sororem meam bis viduam cupio tibi esse, dum isthic eris, commendatam.

Vale, vir mihi ex animi sententia dilecte et probate. Ὁ Θεὸς σοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθίδας καὶ πᾶσαν εὐτυχίαν εὐχῆς πέρα.[12] Scripsi raptim ipsis anni novi Kalendis, quem tibi, imo vobis omnibus, cupio cum aliis quamplurimis annis illucescere quam faustissimum, M D XCVII.

Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier) to Thomson [Geneva] 17 February 1597

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1638, no. 602, p. 705.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1656, no. 115, pp. 133–134.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 115, p. 63.

NOTE: Casaubon began to keep his diary, the *Ephemerides*, the day after he wrote this letter.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon has had two letters from Thomson, and sent as many in return. As a result of Thomson's letter to Aubry in Basle, the man now demands Casaubon's notes on the New Testament.

14 faustissimum, Monspelii *c-1709*

8 'Ne γρὺ quidem': 'none at all', 'not even one'. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 703: 'ne gry quidem'.

9 This letter from Thomson to Scaliger has not survived.

10 Casaubon did not write to Scaliger until 19 January 1597: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 12–14.

11 The person mentioned here is Robert Killigrew, son of Sir William Killigrew. At this date, Robert was about eighteen years of age. Robert is also greeted in two letters from Casaubon to Thomson, dated 17 February 1597 and 19 March 1597.

12 'May God [grant] you many good things and all good fortune beyond even your prayer'. This is not a quotation, but the proverbial phrase ἀγαθων ἀγαθίδες, 'bundles of goods', occurs among the fragments of the seventh book of Strabo's *Geography*, a work edited by Casaubon: *Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, [Geneva], excudebat Eustathius Vignon Atrebat., 1587, p. 228. Casaubon does not comment on the phrase on that work. He had used it in Casaubon to Thomson, 26 August 1596.

Casaubon is glad to learn that Thomson has written to Scaliger. He regrets that he is so far from his friends, but he is highly regarded at Montpellier and has just been formally enrolled in his new post. Casaubon is grateful for what Thomson has done for his sister. He and his wife send their regards to Thomson and Robert. Casaubon and his wife have both written to Thomson's host and his wife, but have had no reply. Casaubon has written to Scaliger and Goulart.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Binas iam a te accepi literas, charissime virorum; ipse, opinor, a me non multo plures. Accepi et quas misit Aubrius Basilea.[1] Gratum fecisti quod illi responderis vicem meam, sed illud molestum quod in quam sententiam responsum illi dederis non significasti; urget enim, uti video. Notulas nescio quas in Novum Testamentum non postulat, sed flagitat, quarum si facta ei est aliqua per te spes, non puto liberum esse iam mihi pedem referre. Ad Scaligerum quod scripsisti, id vero mihi longe gratissimum.[2] Deus nobis illum Semonem quam diutissime praestet incolumem.

Non facile credas, mi Thomson, quam male me habeat quod longe adeo a te, ab illo, a caeteris doctis amicis meis sim semotus. Sed haec est conditio rerum humanarum: ubi uber, ibi tuber.[3] Πουλύποδος κεφαλῇ ἐνὶ ἓν κακόν, ἓν δὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν.[4] Professionis nostrae per hos dies τὰ ἐγκαίνια celebravimus.[5] Quid multa? Multorum opinio est illatas in hanc provinciam Musas adventu nostro. Ego pede meo metiri et olim didici, et nunquam obliviscar sanus.

1 Richardo Thomsoni] eidem *c-1638* 15 Ego me *c-1656*, *c-1709*

1 Casaubon intends Jean Aubry, who, with Claude de Marne, was the heir of the printer Andreas Wechel (d. 1581). No correspondence between Aubry and Casaubon, or Aubry and Thomson, has survived.

2 This letter from Thomson to Scaliger has not survived.

3 Apuleius, *Florida*, 18.

4 Πουλύποδος κεφαλῇ ἐνὶ ἓν κακόν, ἓν δὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν: 'In the head of the octopus there is a bad thing and a good one'. The sentiment appears in Plutarch, *How to Listen to Poetry*, 1.

5 Τὰ ἐγκαίνια: 'the feast of consecration'. The Greek term appears to be used ironically. Casaubon had arrived in Montpellier in the last days of 1596. The present passage refers to his official appointment as professor at the University. Casaubon wrote on the same day to Theodore Beza in Geneva: 'Nos hic professionem nostram hac ipsa hebdomade auspicati sumus' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 116, p. 64).

Soror de tuis erga se officiis pluribus ad me scripsit.[6] Duit tibi ὁ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Θεὸς pro cumulo veterum tuorum erga me beneficiorum quicquid φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς.[7] Gratius quidem certe facere nihil mihi potuisti aut unquam poteris.[8] Uxor et liberi te et Robertum nobilem tuum quam officiosissime et peramanter salutant.[9] Hospiti tuo, viro hisce oculis mihi chariori, et eius uxori graviter ob silentium istud pertinax succensemus ambo, qui scripsimus ambo ad ambos.[10]

Vale, meum delicium, meus amor.

Monspelii, a. d. XIII Kalend. Martii M D XCVII.

Scripsi nuper ad Scaligerum, et per occasionem literas ad Goulartium misi.[11]

Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier) to Thomson [Geneva] 19 March 1597

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1638, no. 603, pp. 705–706.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1656, no. 123, p. 140.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 122, p. 66.

6 This letter from Casaubon's sister has not survived.

7 Ὁ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Θεός: 'great God in heaven'. Φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς: 'you desire in your heart'. For the latter, compare Homer, *Iliad*, XIV.264; *Odyssey*, II.34. Casaubon uses a similar turn of phrase in his letter to Thomson of 18 January 1601: 'Σοὶ δὲ Θεὸς τόσα δοίῃ ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς'.

8 Casaubon had commended his sister to Thomson in Geneva in his letter to Thomson of 1 January 1597.

9 This is Robert Killigrew: see Casaubon to Thomson, 1 January 1597, note 11.

10 Thomson sent his regards to one Hospita in five letters to Vulcanius, dated 7 May 1594, 30 May 1594, 5 August 1594, 4 February 1595 and 22 July 1600. However, no letters between Casaubon and Hospita have come to light, and Casaubon here intends Thomson's unidentified host in Geneva. Casaubon seems to have received letters from this man by March: see Casaubon to Thomson, 19 March 1597.

11 Casaubon repeats this postscript in the postscript to his letter to Thomson of 19 March 1597. Casaubon's letter to Scaliger is dated 19 January 1597 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 12–14). Casaubon promised that he would soon write to Scaliger in Casaubon to Thomson, 1 January 1597. The letter from Casaubon to Goulart has not come to light. It was probably addressed not to Simon Goulart senior (1543–1628) in Geneva, but to his son Simon Goulart junior (c. 1576–after 1619) who was studying in Leiden.

NOTE: Casaubon spent most of 19 March catching up on his correspondence: 'Mar. XIX. Et huiusce diei mane fere totum literis scribendis periit. Etiam pomeridiani temporis τὸ πλέον perdidi' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 1, p. 9). Besides the present letter to Thomson, Casaubon wrote on 19 March to Jacques Bongars, Charles Perrot, Esaïe Colladon and Theodore Beza: see Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, nos 120–121, 123, 1012, pp. 66–67, 591. Like Thomson, Beza, Perrot and Colladon were in Geneva, and all four letters were entrusted to the same courier. Bongars appears to have been in Strasbourg and Casaubon's letter to him must have travelled via Geneva.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon has received a package of letters from his friends at Geneva, but none from Thomson. The letter from Thomson's host made it clear that Thomson was aware of the opportunity to write, and Casaubon wonders that he did not take advantage of it. Casaubon is awaiting the arrival of Martial. Casaubon's wife sends her regards to Thomson and Robert. Casaubon is writing while half-asleep. He has also written to Scaliger and Goulart.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Ergo tu delicias facies? Nam quid aliud dicam nescio. Accepi enim ἀθρόως ab omnibus fere amicis qui isthic sunt literas, te uno excepto.[1] Putabam nescisse te de occasione literas ad nos mittendi tam bona quicquam, et iam pro excusato te habebam: sed postquam optimi hospitis tui literas legi, non amplius persuaderi id mihi sum quitus.[2] Itaque quid causae sit cur nullas ad me dederis, quaero adhuc, nec invenio. Tu me facies ut sciam, si putas esse tanti. Equidem cum semisomnis isthuc literas scriberem, et multis curis animum ἔνθεν κἀνθεν districtum haberem, quin tamen has ad te raptim exararem, facere non

1 Richardo Thomsoni] eidem *c-1638*

1 Ἀθρόως: 'generally', with connotations of 'abundantly'. For this package, see the headnotes to the present letter.

2 Thomson sent his regards to one Hospita in five letters to Vulcanius, dated 7 May 1594, 30 May 1594, 5 August 1594, 4 February 1595 and 22 July 1600. However, no letters between Casaubon and Hospita have come to light, and Casaubon here intends Thomson's unidentified host in Geneva. Casaubon complained that this person had not written in Casaubon to Thomson, 17 February 1597.

potui.[3] Martialem exspectare me indies, imo in horas, οἶσθα καὶ αὐτός:[4] ea spes ne decollet in te situm.[5]

Vale ex animo et penitus, dilecte Thomsoni. Uxor te et nobilem tuam salutat quam officiosissime.[6] Iterum vale, τ' οὐμὸν μέλημα.[7] Scripsi raptim νυστάζων καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ νεύων.[8]

Monspelii, a. d. XIV Kalend. Aprilis M D XCVII.

Ad summum Scaligerum scripsi nuper, et misi per occasionem ad Goulartium literas.[9]

Thomson (Geneva) to Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier) 10 April 1597

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 236$^{r–v}$.
TEXT: There is some loss to the right margin of the verso. The extent of the reconstruction is recorded in the textual apparatus.
ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / À / Montpellier.
NOTE: The envelope is Burney 366, fol. 237.
SYNOPSIS: There is nothing to detain Thomson in Geneva, now that Casaubon is no longer there. He has given Paul Estienne the pages on Aeschylus, the extracts from Servius' commentary, and material he found in Geneva on the New World. His efforts regarding the sixth ecumenical council have come to nothing. He will show Casaubon his work on Martial when he returns from Italy. Robert's illness, and his reading of Casaubon's

3 Thomsoni] Thomson *c-1709*

3 For ἔνθεν κἄνθεν, 'this way and that', see Sophocles, *Aiax*, 725.

4 Οἶσθα καὶ αὐτός: 'you yourself know'. The Greek phrase is not a quotation, and the movement into Greek at such moments is characteristic of Casaubon's prose.

5 For Thomson and Martial, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'. In Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 10 April 1597, he says that Casaubon will be able to see his work on Martial when he returns from his Italian travels. For the turn of phrase, see Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594, note 23.

6 For the identity of this 'nobilis', the young Robert Killigrew, see Casaubon to Thomson, 1 January 1597, note 11. In Thomson to Casaubon, 10 April 1597, Robert is unwell.

7 Τ' οὐμὸν μέλημα: 'my beloved'.

8 Νυστάζων καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ νεύων: 'dozing and nodding my head'.

9 For this postscript, see Casaubon to Thomson, 17 February 1597, note 11.

Athenaeus, delay his departure. He hopes to take Athenaeus with him and collate the text with the Vatican manuscript. He wishes he could help with Casaubon's Polybius. He regrets that Casaubon has not responded to his questions about Aristotle: his reply would have been useful when he meets Patrizzi. He has not found a copy of Eustratius in Geneva, but will find one in Italy. Meanwhile, he asks Casaubon to transcribe some manuscripts he has. It was surprising that no work by Scaliger was published at the spring bookfair in Frankfurt. Adrianus' book has been published. Thomson asks Casaubon to greet Scaliger for him. Pace's Aristotle has been carelessly printed in Germany. He and Robert send their regards to Casaubon's family. He will write soon from Italy.

Clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s.

Egone ut te absente delicias faciam, mea delicia?[1] Videas an invideas, nescio. Ego hoc certe sentio et experior: nihil me hic reperire quod Thomsonem tuum capere possit (praefiscini hoc dixerim).[2] Neque enim, ut tute scis, oculos Tiberii habeo, qui ipsa noctem visu usurpare possim.[3] Nam quis aliquot lucent stellulae, solis mei Casauboni occasum mihi declarant. Sed mitto has verborum delicias.

Schidas Aeschyleas tuas commisi Paullo Stephano nostro, quibus alia illa excerpta ex Servio adiunxi, et (quae in bibliotheca Genevensi reperi) exscripta quaedam ex novo orbe.[4] De concilio in Trullo nihil actum, etsi omnia fecerim;

5 quis] *sic* LBL

1 Thomson picks up the opening words of Casaubon to Thomson, 19 March 1597: 'Ergo tu delicias facies?'

2 'Praefiscini', 'without intending to cause offence', is the adverbial form from 'praefascinum'. Compare Plautus, *Asinaria*, 2.4.84: 'praefiscini hoc nunc dixerim'.

3 Thomson marks the vowel of 'qui' as long: 'by which'. The Emperor Tiberius could see in the dark: Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 68.

4 Paul Estienne was Casaubon's brother-in-law. He was to forward this material to Casaubon: see Casaubon to Thomson, 1 January 1597. Thomson had acquired through Scaliger extracts from Pierre Daniel's copy of Servius' commentary on Vergil: see Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594. Thomson asked about the New World in his letter to Casaubon of 22 July 1600, and Casaubon's reply referred him to a speech he had made in Geneva around 1593. The speech may be identified with the work 'An priscis novus orbis fuerit incognitus?', outlined from Casaubon's notes in J.C. Wolf, ed. *Casauboniana*, Hamburg, 1710, p. 51.

quod sine mea omni etiam levi culpa accidisse facile intelligis qui me nosti.[5] De Martialem quid dicam? Videbis illum, et alia omnia, in reditu meo ex Italia, quem Deus optimus maximus felicitet.[6] Nam morbus Roberti mei, et propera Athenaei lectio, inceptum hoc impediverunt.[7] Ego illum in Italiam mecum defero, nisi nimis sit oneri equo futurus.[8] Statui enim illum conferre cum manuscripto (si possum) Vaticano.[9] Utinam Polybium tuum promovere queam mea ulla opera![10] Sed hoc semel accipe: me quovis modo velle studiis tuis—quae simul nostra sunt—benefacere; quod facturum me hac peregrinatione in Italia, magna spes est. Tu pro iter et reditu tui Richardi vota facias.

Sed irascor tibi quod quaestionibus quibusdam Aristotelicis, quas pridem misi, non responderis.[11] Magno erat hoc mihi usui futurum in Italia, ubi congredi cum Patricio certum et statutum.[12] Et, ut scias, a. d. Idibus Aprilis ingredior viam hanc cum bono Deo. Eustratium in *Ethica* hic non reperio; ex Italia aut mittam, aut feram.[13] Sed quod omnino debes, manuscriptas illas *Constantinopolitanas Origines* et nescio quem imperatorum de militia (ex cuius libro est illa facis et laternae descriptio in doctissimis tuis ad Suetonium notis) inte-

16 et] *absc.* LBL

5 The sixth ecumenical council was held in Constantinople 680–681. The sessions were held in a domed hall of the imperial palace, hence 'concilium in Trullo'.

6 For Thomson and Martial, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial'. Casaubon had asked after this work on Martial in his letter to Thomson of 19 March 1597.

7 For Robert, an Englishman whom Thomson was to accompany to Italy, see Casaubon to Thomson, 19 March 1597. Thomson was reading Casaubon's edition of the lengthy *Banquet of the Learned* by Athenaeus of Naucratis: for this reading, see chapter 12, 'Geneva, October? 1596–April 1597', and see also chapter 17, 'Reading Casaubon on Athenaeus'.

8 'Ille' refers, of course, to Casaubon's edition of Athenaeus, not to Robert. The first volume, containing the text and Casaubon's Latin translation, is a substantial folio.

9 In the event, Thomson did not take Casaubon's Athenaeus with him. This statement, however, shows that he intended to visit the Vatican Library.

10 Casaubon's edition of Polybius was not published until 1609: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609. Thomson was sent a copy of this edition: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 28.

11 This letter from Thomson to Casaubon has not survived.

12 This is probably the Italian philosopher Francesco Patrizzi. He spent his last years in Rome, and had not long died (6 Feb. 1597) when Thomson wrote this letter.

13 Casaubon had probably asked for the text in Greek: *Eustratii et aliorum insignium peripateticorum commentaria in libros decem Aristotelis de Moribus ad Nicomachum, una cum textu suis in locis adiecto*, Venice, in aedibus haeredum Aldi Manutii et Andreae Asulani soceri, 1536.

rim describendam dabis, dum ego in Italia vagor.[14] Obsecro te per amicitiam nostram ne destituas spem meam.

His nundinis vernalibus miror nihil Scaligeri prodiisse, aut alterius cuiusque vere docti. Itane nos fallunt illi, qui soli possunt nostra studia iuvare? Adriani illius Romani liber hic prodiit, utcunque ego contra obnixe et anxie egerim.[15] Quaeso fac sciat Scaliger me sui nominis studiossissimum semper esse. Nam ego sane iam nihil scribo ad illum. Qui enim possim his tantis occupationibus? Aristoteles Pacii hic est editus valde negligenter.[16] Variae lectiones omnes omissae, quae in tanto auctore nihili non erant pendendae.

2 n[ostram] *absc.* LBL 3 n[ihil] *absc.* LBL 5 illi[us] *absc.* LBL ‖ anx[ie] *absc.* LBL

14 The *Origines* seem to be the surviving fragment of the *Universal History* of Hesychius of Miletus. It had been published by Georgius Dousa under this title the previous year and attributed to Georgius Codinus: *Georgii Codini selecta de originibus Constantinopolitanis, nunc primum in lucem edita; interprete Georgio Dousa, Iani f.*, [Heidelberg], apud Hieronymum Commelinum, 1596. In Casaubon's notes on Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 31, Casaubon quotes from Julius Africanus, 'de bellico apparatu'. Thomson had evidently asked for a copy of this work in a lost letter. For Casaubon's manuscript, copied in Venice by Andreas Darmarios, dated 22 December 1584, and now London, British Library, Royal, 16.C.xiv, see H.H.E. Craster, 'Casaubon's Greek MSS', *Bodleian Library Quarterly*, 5, 1926–1928, pp. 97–100, p. 99, no. 24. Thomson's request is related to an inquiry regarding the use of beacons to communicate at a distance, discussed in Polybius, *Histories*, X.40–44: see Thomson to Casaubon, 1 March 1599. Casaubon has a long note on communicating at a distance in his commentary on Aeneas Tacticus: *Aeneae vetustissimi scriptoris commentarius tacticus et odsidionalis: quomodo obsessum resistere oporteat. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, publicavit, et notis illustravit*, Paris, apud Hieronymum Drouart, 1609, pp. 78–80.

15 Adrianus Romanus (Van Roomen), a Jesuit mathematician, published his refutation of Scaliger's *Cyclometrica* in 1597 in his *In Archimedis circuli dimensionem*, which included his 'Apologia pro Archimede ad clarissimum virum Iosephum Scaligerum'. The book was printed in Geneva, where there was some discussion as to whether its publication should be permitted: see Esprinchard to Scaliger, 2 April 1597, in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 24–27. For his biography, see *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek*, 20 vols to date, Brussels, 1964–2011, 2, 1966, cols 751–765; P. Bockstaele, 'The Correspondence of Adriaan van Roomen (1561–1615): Corrections and Additions, 1594–1615', *Lias*, 19, 1992, pp. 3–20.

16 Thomson refers to an edition of the complete works in two volumes: *Operum Aristotelis Stagiritae philosophorum omnium longe principis nova editio, Graece et Latine*, [Geneva], apud haered. Eust. Vignon, 1597. Casaubon had been taught privately by Giulio Pace (1550–1635) in his youth in Geneva. See Casaubon's letter to John Prideaux of 7 April 1613: 'Tres annos impendi iis studiis, publice et privatim usus doctore Pacio, cuius *Organon* et alia scripta philosophica, opinor, vidisti. Scito illum ingentem commentarium in *Organon* mihi privatim et duobus amicis scriptum esse, cum ille nos domi suae doceret mercede ingenti' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 879, p. 528).

Sed hic coram aliquando fabulabimur, et aures illos philosophos otiose ridebimus. Interim longe vale et vive, mi optime, iucundissime, doctissime virorum, termaxime Casaubone. Uxori et isti familiae oscules meo et Roberti mei nomine, qui vos valde amat. Ex Italia quam citissime ad te scribam. Vive, vale, vive diu, diuque tibi, literis, nobis omnibus. Ita oro et veneror Deum. Nostri omnes te salutant. Vale iterum. Nam ecce manum non possum de tabula.[17] Nescio enim quod male ipse mihi ominer in hoc itinere. Sed quicquid de me fiet, tu vive et vale semper.

Genevae, a. d. IV Id. Aprilis, anno 97.

Tuus mancupio,[18]

R. Thomson.

Thomson (Venice) to Isaac Casaubon [Montpellier] [1597, May–October?]

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 48, p. 672.

DATE: The letter is undated. Thomson intended to set out for Italy from Geneva on 13 April 1597: see Thomson to Casaubon, 10 April 1597. Casaubon wrote to Scaliger on 27 December 1597 that he had received the present letter from Thomson.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson sends the works of Athenaeus Mechanicus and Ctesibius, which may help with Casaubon's edition of Polybius. He asks Casaubon to forward Athenaeus to Scaliger who is eager to have it, and Thomson had previously failed to send him a copy of the same text which is in Oxford. He has acquired copies of Proclus' commentary on *Parmenides*, and Plato's *First Alcibiades*. He has also seen manuscripts of Basil, Cyril, Chrysostom and Oribasius, though he has not bought them. Casaubon may write to him in Siena with his advice.

3 oscul[es] *absc.* LBL

17 Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 219: 'manum de tabula'.

18 'Tuus mancupio': 'Legally yours by right of seizure'. The formula is relatively rare but it does appear in contemporary manuals of letter-writing.

Richardus Thomson Isaaco Casaubono.

Post scriptas tuas, mi doctissime Casaubone, incidi in *Mechanica* Athenaei et Ctesibii, nisi fallor, quae ecce recta ad te mitto, ut videas me tui ubique et semper memorem.[1] Forte iuvabit te in Polybii editione, quam obsecro te properari.[2] Si quid praeterea occurret, faxo ut habeas. Scaliger, ut olim tibi narravi, magno opere illas Athenaei scidas a me petiit, et parum abfuit quin res meas mihi habere mandasset, quod illas ex Anglia, ubi in Bibliotheca Oxoniensi extabant, non misissem olim. Quare si me, si illum, amas, curabis ad illum mittendas prima occasione, et significabis me adtribuisse tibi illas ea lege. Ipse ego idem scribam Scaligero prima occasione.[3]

Nactus sum et alia quaedam. Verbi gratia, Procli *Commentarium in Parmenidem*; item *Alcibiadem A* Platonis, quae mittere non possum ob molem voluminis.[4] Poteram alia manuscripta Graeca emisse quoque. Verbi gratia, Basilii *Commentarium in Esaiam*, Cyrilli *Thesaurum*, Chrysostomi plurimas orationes, Oribasium antiquissimum et plane fugientibus literis scriptum.[5] Sed abstinui me in aliud tempus. Tu fac sciam quid sentias. Siennae subsistam. Tu facile potes, cum voles, ad me scribere.

Venetiis.

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1 Richardus Thomson] * * * Thomson *c-1709* 2–3 Athenaei … 4 Ctesibii] *correxi ex* Athenaei Ctesibii *c-1709*

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1 This manuscript may be Leiden University Library, Scal. 39 (*Codices Manuscripti II: Codices Scaligerani* (*Praeter Orientales*), Leiden, 1910, pp. 11–12). This manuscript does not contain Ctesibius, though Thomson may have suspected ('nisi fallor') that the second anonymous work in this manuscript was his. See chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

2 Casaubon's edition of Polybius was not published until 1609: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609.

3 If Thomson wrote this letter to Scaliger, it has not survived. For the Oxford manuscript of Athenaeus, and for Scaliger's connections with the work of Athenaeus, see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

4 For these two Greek manuscripts, see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Manuscripts', nos 4 and 5.

5 These manuscripts have not been identified and it is not known whether Thomson acquired them.

Thomson (Florence) to Rudolf Simler (Zurich) 10 September 1598

AUTOGRAPH: Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, ms. F 57, fol. 187r.
COPY: Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, ms. S 153, no. 60.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo Viro / Rudolpho Simlero / D. Medico. / Tigurum.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson is glad of an opportunity to write. He recommends two of his fellow countrymen who are travelling to Zurich, and hopes Simler will introduce them to the eminent men of the city. Thomson will soon visit Lombardy, and he intends to leave Italy next spring. He hopes to be able to visit Zurich on his return journey. He sends his regards to Stucki, Beumler, Waser and Ziegler. Simler should forward the accompanying letters to Colladon.

Rudolpho Simlero suo Richardus Thomson s.

Libenter ad te scribo, humanissime Simlere, et recordatione veteris illius nostrae amicitiae perfruor.[1] Itaque testandi huius animi mei occasiones frequenter arripio. Cum ergo istac transituri essent doctissimi et humanissimi duo viri populares mei, eos tibi commendandos duxi.[2] Ita enim commendati illi urbem vestram florentissimam (et de nostris optime semper meritam) quam rectissime lustrabunt, clarissimos vestros cives aliquot commode visent, et tu simul novo hoc beneficio me tibi obstringes—si sane id fieri potest qui iam omnia tibi debeo et aeternum debebo.[3]

De reditu meo, nihil dum scribere possum. Brevi tamen in Lombardiam cogitamus, et sub initium veris proximi Italia excedere.[4] Utinam ita res nostrae

1 No visit by Thomson to Zurich is recorded. Simler seems to have been studying in Geneva when Thomson arrived in the city in 1593. See S. Stelling-Michaud, ed. *Le livre du recteur de l'Académie de Genève (1559–1878)*, Geneva, 1959, p. 120: 'Rudolphus Simlerus Tigurinus s. theol. stud. 3 Sept. 92'.

2 If Thomson is thinking of himself as Dutch, then these 'populares' may have been Johannes Woverius and Johannes de Witt: see Thomson to Casaubon, 1 March 1599.

3 In the autograph, another hand has written in the margin beside this sentence: 'Tig. bene semper de Anglis meritum'.

4 In a letter to Casaubon of 1 March 1599, Thomson wrote that he was to leave Italy the following week.

digerantur ut istac transire queamus, et coram gratias agere pro tot tantisque tuis erga me officiis![5] Sed de eo proxime faciam te certiorem.

Vale, mi doctissime, mi humanissime frater. Clarissimos viros Stuckium, Beumlerum, Waserum et omnes officiosissime iubeo.[6] Etiam Zieglerum, si apud vos est.[7]

Florentiae, a. d. IV Id. Septembris anno 98.

Adiunctum hunc fasciculum literarum ad Colladonem curabis.[8]

Thomson (Florence) to Isaac Casaubon (Montpellier) 1 March 1599

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 238r.
ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / À / Montpellier.
NOTE: The present letter is almost certainly the one which Thomson entrusted to Johannes de Witt for delivery to Casaubon: see Thomson to Casaubon, 28 February 1600. The address was later altered to read: 'À Lyon / pour mander / À Montpellier'. The alteration seems to be in Thomson's hand. Casaubon was not at Montpellier at the time this letter was sent. He left Montpellier on 26 February, and his diary records that he arrived at Geneva on 30 March, and spent much of April there. He set out from Geneva on 24 April and arrived in Lyon on 27 April (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 1, pp. 146–147, 152–153).

2 faciam te] te faciam *S 153* 4 iubeo] *sic F 57* salvere iubeo *S 153*

5 Thomson recorded his intention to return from Italy via Geneva in his letter to Casaubon of 1 March 1599.

6 'Stuckius' is probably Johann Wilhelm Stucki (1521–1607), for whom see ADB, 1893, 36, pp. 717–720. 'Beumler' appears to be the theologian Marcus Beumler (1555–1611). 'Waser' must be be the theologian Kaspar Waser (1565–1625), who was related to Simler by marriage. Waser was in Leiden in 1591 and in England in 1592. In 1608 he published a biography of Stucki. For his own biography, see ADB, 1896, 41, pp. 227–228; NDB, 2010, 24, p. 420*.

7 'Ziegler' may be Johann Wilhelm Ziegler of Schaffhausen who registered as a student in Geneva on 11 July 1602: see S. Stelling-Michaud, ed. *Le livre du recteur de l'Académie de Genève (1559–1878)*, Geneva, 1959, p. 134.

8 Esaïe Colladon, who seems to have been in Geneva at this date: see Casaubon to Thomson, 19 March 1597, headnotes. The package may have included a letter to Casaubon, but no such letter has come to light.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has sent notes on Suetonius and Polybius, but has heard nothing from Casaubon in reply. He has had news of Casaubon from the man to whom Casaubon gave Thomson's note on Polybius. Thomson is to leave Italy next week, and will discover the cause of Casaubon's silence when he visits him on his journey home around the end of April. He will bring copies of the notes which he sent. He is glad to hear that Casaubon's edition of Persius has been published. Casaubon should not delay publication of his commentary on Athenaeus, and should pursue his work on Polybius. Thomson will urge him to this work when he sees him. He and Robert send their regards to Casaubon's wife.

Clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s.

Ἀληθεί, ὦ φίλτατε?[1] Ut tot scriptis et missis literis tu nunquam responderis?[2] Etiam nescio quas notas ad Suetonium et Polybium misi, non sane reiculas, tu tamen ne verbo quidem dignatus es nos. Quid dicam, doctissime Casaubone? Vivere te et sentire scio, nam eo nuncio beavit me nobilissimus ille vir, cui tu περὶ φρυκτωρίας καὶ πυρσείας Polybianam observationem quandam nostram dedisti.[3] Sed an ego exciderim animo tuo, id vere valde ambigo.

1 Ἀληθεί, ὦ φίλτατε: 'Is it true, my beloved friend?'

2 In a letter to Casaubon of 28 February 1600, Thomson complained that he had not heard from Casaubon for nearly two years.

3 Περὶ φρυκτωρίας καὶ πυρσείας: 'on communicating with beacons and fire'. The 'nobilissimus vir' is probably Johannes de Witt. Thomson's 'observatio' concerned the use of beacons to communicate at a distance, discussed in Polybius x.40–44. A long explanation of just this passage fills an undated letter from Casaubon to De Witt ('Joannes a Witten'; Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 1065, pp. 621–622). This discussion is probably connected to the question on *lanternae* in Casaubon's commentary on Suetonius, published in 1595: see Thomson to Casaubon, 10 April 1597. De Witt and Johannes Woverius spent seven months with Casaubon in Montpellier, perhaps from November 1597 until May 1598. De Witt fondly recalled the visit many years later in a letter to Casaubon dated 28 October 1609: 'Nullibi locorum maiori cum fructu vixi quam apud te quando Ioannes Wowerius et ego per integros septem menses tibi in mensa commensales fuimus' (London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 343^{r}). For the stay in Montpellier, see also J. Woverius, *Epistolarum centuriae II. Eiusdem syntagma de Bibliorum interpretatione cum epistolis clarorum virorum ad Wowerum. Omnia nunc primum prodeunt*, Hamburg, apud Michaelem Heringium, [1618], pp. 33, 264–265.

Quid enim vult hoc perpetuum et quasi iuratum silentium? Quicquid erit, brevi scibo. Nam, ut scias, proxima septimana ex Italia cogitamus. In transitu autem te videbo, ubi ubi eris,[4] et rationem hanc acriter et cum rubro supercilio tecum disputabo. Quare circa ultimum Aprilem para hospitalium, et simul caussas silentii tui. Notas illas et alia multa si perierunt coram tradam.[5]

Persium tuum prodiisse idem ille amicus vir retulit.[6] Gratulor reipublicae literariae. Commentarium ad Athenaeum malo exemplo differs.[7] Propera: sat bene si sat cito. De Polybio tuo lente et in lectulo cogitas, ut audio.[8] Interim praeripienti tibi mille et mille observationes, ut in aliis contigisse narrat idem ille amicus. Quid facis, doctissime vir? Iam scio quid te pungat et impediat. Hem! Itane semper? Nunquamne erit ut Richardum tuum audias? Sed haec et alia differo in adventum meum, quando egregie tibi aures verberabo. Scis quid velim. Basta per adesso.

Vale et me ama, qui te semper. Coniugi meo Robertique mei nomine salutem plurimam.[9]

Florentiae, a. d. Kal. Martii, stylo Gregoriano, anno 99.

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4 Thomson appears to have some recent knowledge of Casaubon's movements: see the headnote to the present letter. However, he was unable to meet him on his journey from Italy back to England.

5 Thomson sent a copy of the notes on Suetonius and Polybius to Casaubon and kept the original document himself: see Thomson to Casaubon, 28 February 1600.

6 A long deletion follows this word. The rumour was false: Casaubon's edition of Persius was not published until 1605: *Auli Persii Flacci satirarum liber. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, et commentario libro illustravit. Ad virum amplissimum D. Achillem Harlaeum Senatus Principem*, Paris, apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart, 1605.

7 This refers to Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus of Naucratis' *Banquet of the Learned*, published the following year: Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600. Casaubon produced no commentary on the short work of Athenaeus Mechanicus, a treatise which Thomson had recently sent him: see the letter which Thomson wrote to Casaubon from Italy some time between May and October 1597 (pp. 215–216).

8 Casaubon's edition of Polybius was not published until 1609: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609.

9 Thomson's wordplay is potentially confusing. 'Meo' agrees with 'nomine'. Thomson greets Casaubon's wife 'in my name and in the name of my Robert'.

The Fellows of Clare Hall (Cambridge) to Robert Cecil [London]
25 December 1599

ORIGINAL: Hatfield, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 136/78.
TEXT: The letter is in the hand of Edward Wood, who was the first to subscribe, and it was probably composed by Wood. Cecil's secretary has added a note to the envelope summarising the contents: '25 Decem. Some of the societie of Clarehall to my master. Mr Wm Boyes elected to the Mastership of that house'.
ADDRESS: To the right honorable Sir / Robert Cecill, Knight, Master / of her Majesties Court of Wards / and principall secretary to / her highness.
NOTE: For the dispute which gave rise to this letter, see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599'. This letter is subscribed by 'Richard Tomson' and 'Richard Thomson'. The signatures are different—the second is that of our 'Dutch' Thomson—and demonstrate that two men of that name were Fellows of the College at the same time.

Our most humble dutyes unto your honour remembred. May it please the same to understand that wee whose names ar underwritten, being the greater part of the society in Clarehall, have elected to the Mastershippe of the sayd Colledge one William Boys praesident of our howse and senior Proctor of our university; in which two places he hath carreyed himselfe so discreetely and with such creditt that wee in our conscience do repute him of all others the fittest man for the good government of our howse, and theruppon we have taken a corporall othe as our statutes require.

And least wee might seeme partially affected towards him by reason of his long conversation amongst us, if it please your honour to take notice of his sufficiency by the testimony of heades of Colledges under their handes, it shall appeare wee have proceeded in sincerity, and for the good of the Colledge, the statutes whereof do not permitt us fullye to admitt the sayd William Boys into the sayd Mastershippe until seaven dayes more bee expired; within which time it is thought, notwithstanding this our election, wee shall bee commaunded by her Majesty for some other.

For the preventing whereof, if at our most humble petition it shall please your honour to bee a meanes whereby we may enjoy the liberty of our conscience, statutes and privileges (whereof the whole university doth most thankefully acknowledge you to bee an honorable mayntayner), wee and all our poore frendes shall perpetually bee devoted to the service of your honour and

continually pray for the happy encrease thereof, to the good of this common weale and especially of our university. And so in all humble manner wee take our leaves.

Clarehall, December 25 1599.

Your honour's in all humble duty to bee commaunded,

John Fulnetby.[1] Edward Wood.[2]
Richard Tomson.[3] Jo. Allerton.[4]
Richard Thomson. Augustin Lindsell.[5]
Edward Manistie.[6] George Ruggle.[7]

Thomson (Cambridge) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden) 5 February 1600

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: I, fol. 6r.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo Viro / D. / Bonaventurae Vulcanio / amico singulari / Lugdunum Batavorum.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson is grateful for the copy of Vulcanius' *Glossaria*, and impressed by the learned commentary. Vulcanius will soon receive a catalogue of English manuscripts. He had thought they might be of some use for Scaliger's edition of Eusebius, but he had not considered that they might help with Vulcanius'

1 Fulnetby (or Fulnetbye) matriculated at Clare in 1583, graduated B.A. 1586–1587, and M.A. in 1590 (Venn and Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 1913, p. 270).

2 Wood matriculated at Clare in 1587, graduated B.A. in 1590–1591, and M.A. in 1594 (Venn and Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 1913, p. 744).

3 For this Richard Tomson, to be distinguished from our Richard 'Dutch' Thomson, see chapter 1, 'Early Life', and chapter 11, 'England, June 1594–August? 1596'.

4 Allertone (or Allerton) matriculated at Clare in 1588, graduated B.A. by 1592 and M.A. in 1595 (Venn and Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 1913, p. 10).

5 For Lindsell, a Greek scholar and subsequently bishop of Peterborough and Hereford, see A. Foster, 'Lindsell, Augustine (d. 1634)', ODNB, 2004, 33, p. 907. He left his Greek manuscripts, and some of his Greek books, to Clare Hall.

6 Manistie (or Manestie) matriculated at Clare in 1588, had proceeded B.A. by 1592 and M.A. in 1595 (Venn and Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 1913, p. 443). He was Proctor of the University in 1604, and Rector of Little Mongeham in Kent from 1604 until 1610.

7 For Ruggle, better known as a Latin playwright, see D.K. Money, 'Ruggle, George (bap. 1575, d. 1621/2)', ODNB, 2004, 48, pp. 101–103.

edition of Procopius. Parisian scholars are unhappy that this edition of Procopius remains unpublished, but Thomson has explained the situation to them. Vulcanius should approach Pinelli for the text of the *Secret History*: Pinelli thinks highly of Vulcanius, and would have demonstrated his regard had not Vulcanius appeared in that Spanish list of heretics. The list has not been printed in England, though it should be. He encourages Vulcanius to publish the patristic work he is editing. He commends the bearer of the present letter. He has heard that Augustine's *City of God* is to be published in Leiden, and offers his own manuscript of the work to the editors.

Clarissimo viro Bonaventurae Vulcanio Richardus Thomson s.

Glossaria tua, paucis abhinc diebus accepi, clarissime doctissimeque vir.[1] Notas tuas sane plenas elegantiarum et doctrinae studiose perlegi, quae me mirifice affecerunt. Valde enim capior erudita et concinna tua brevitate in his talibus annotationibus, tuis tibi solenni. In ipsis etiam glossariis quaedam nova et mihi hactenus invisa. Itaque gratias tibi ago immortales pro tam erudito munere, habiturus ubi occasio sese offeret.

Interim catalogum manuscriptorum nostrorum accipies, quem pridem fueram missurus, si tanti esse putassem.[2] Nam Scaligero usui esse posse quaedam in bibliothecis nostris putabam in edendo Eusebii *Chronico*.[3] Et sane de Procopio tuo tunc nihil mihi in mentem venit. Quando ergo illum nobis dabis?[4]

1 Thomson has received: *Thesaurus utriusque linguae, hoc est Philoxeni, aliorumque veterum authorum glossaria Latino-Graeca et Graeco-Latina. Isidori glossae Latinae. Veteres grammatici Latini et Graeci qui de proprietate et differentiis vocabularum utriusque linguae scripserunt; edita omnia atque recognita studio et opera Bonaventurae Vulcanii*, Leiden, excudebat Ioannes Patius, 1600.

2 Thomson sent a printed catalogue: James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600.

3 Scaliger's edition of Eusebius was not published until 1606: *Thesaurus temporum. Eusebii Chronicorum Canonum omnimodae historiae libri duo, interprete Hieronymo. Item auctores omnes derelicta ab Eusebio et Hieronymo continuantes. Eiusdem Eusebii utriusque partis Chronicorum Canonum reliquiae Graecae quae colligi potuerunt, antehac non editae*, Leiden, excudebat Thomas Basson, sumptibus Commelinorum, 1606.

4 Vulcanius' projected edition of Procopius was never published: see D. van Miert, 'Project Procopius: Scaliger, Vulcanius, Hoeschelius and the Pursuit of Early Byzantine History', in H. Cazes, ed. *Bonaventura Vulcanius: Brugge 1538–Leiden 1614*, Leiden and Boston, 2010, pp. 361–386. The work was taken up by David Hoeschel and emerged some years later:

Quando nos beabis expectatissima illius auctoris editione? Parisienses uti anno coniicebam aegre ferunt hanc moram et inclementer tibi dicunt, quibus tamen multa et accurate respondi.[5] Pinellus habet ἀνέκδοτα Procopii, quae si hactenus non es nactus, inde censeo petas.[6] Vir est humanissimus et doctissimus, ac, quod familiam ducit, tui studiosus, quod coram profecto olim cognovi cum tui mentio iniecta esset in mensa. Pluribus enim amorem illum ostendebat, pluribus etiam ostensurus nisi te Hispaniensis ille catalogus inter haereticos retulisset.[7] Ride, mi Vulcani, et simul impudentiam horum maialium vide, qui te Cyrilli caussa proscribunt illis titulis.[8] Catalogum illum hic in Anglia edi nondum inaudivi.[9] Ipse ego hoc aliquando egi, sed tamen nescio quid impedivit typographum. Intererat tamen illum edi, et videbo porro. Tu interim occasionem hanc arripe, et sanctissimum illum patrem nobis expoli.[10] Potes et hoc et maiora; velle debes quia publice te obstrinxisti.

Qui has fert, vir doctissimus est, et mei amantissimus, quare ut eum pristina humanitate excipias valde te rogo.[11]

Vale, vir clarissime et doctissime, ac me quod facis ama.

---

14 eum ~~tua~~ *LUB*

Historiarum Procopii libri VIII nunc primum Graece editi. Accessit liber de aedificiis Iustiniani fere duplo quam antea auctior. Opera D. Hoeschelii, Augsburg, 1607.

5 Thomson was in Paris in 1599, where he paused on his journey back from Italy to England: see chapter 14, 'Paris, July 1599'.

6 Procopius' ἀνέκδοτα, 'unpublished writings', are his 'Secret History'. The work was not published until 1623. Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, a famous collector and antiquary, died in Padua the following year. For Thomson's visit to Pinelli, see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

7 That is, Vulcanius' work has appeared on a Roman Catholic list of *Libri prohibiti*.

8 The reference seems to be to an early work of Vulcanius, published in Spain: *D. Cyrilli … ad Calosyrium episcopum Arsenoitem, Adversus Anthropomorphitas liber. Eiusdem, De adoratione in spiritu et veritate dialogi XVII ad Palladium. Bonaventura Vulcanio Brugensi interprete*, Toledo, apud Iacobum ab Ayala, 1576.

9 This appears to be the 'Spanish catalogue' mentioned earlier.

10 Vulcanius seems to have asked after manuscripts of Cyril in English libraries in connection with another edition of this church Father which he was preparing: *Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini adversus anthropomorphitas, liber unus graece et latine. Eiusdem, De incarnatione unigeniti, et, quod unus sit Christus ac dominus secundum scripturas, ad Hermian dialogi duo, nunquam antehac editi, interprete Bonaventura Vulcanio, cum notis eiusdem, quibus epistolae aliquot Isidori Pelusiotae et Ioannis Zonarae, idem quod Cyrillus hisce libris argumentum tractantes*, Leiden, e typographia Ioannis Patii, 1605.

11 This courier has not been identified.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. Non. Februarii M D C.

Audio istic esse qui Augustini *De civitate Dei* conentur edere. Eius libri ut et alios manuscriptos satis bonum est exemplar penes me, quod libenter ipsis sicut et alia transmittam, si id significaverint.[12] Omnia enim mea publicae utilitati servire volo.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London] 13 February [1600]

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 95v.

DATE: The present letter is dated 13 February 1599. This date is *stylo Anglicano*, that is, February 1600 new style, for Thomson was still in Italy in the spring of 1599. Writing in England to an English address, Thomson uses a calendar which begins the new year on Lady Day, 25 March. Two other letters written by Thomson in February 1600, addressed to Leiden and Lyon respectively, are dated according to a calendar which began the year on 1 January.

NOTE: This letter lacks its *salutatio* in the manuscript copy. It seems to be Thomson's first letter to Perrot.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson thanks Perrot for forwarding Scaliger's letter to him. He knew Perrot in Geneva, but has not been able to meet him in England, although he did catch sight of him in Greenwich. He is delighted to find that the ambassador is well disposed to him, and will visit him when he is next in London. Thomson will strive to deserve Scaliger's high opinion of him. Next week he will send a package for Scaliger to Perrot via Norton. He asks whether Perrot has any news of Casaubon.

Ita est ut scribis, clarissime Perrote: gratissimae mihi fuere Scaligeri literae, eo tamen gratiores quod te curante ad me pervenerunt.[1] Valde enim dolui nullam hactenus mihi occasionem oblatam fuisse compellandi tui, quem familiarissime Genevae olim expertus fueram;[2] videre quidem te sub primum adventum

12 It appears that this edition was never published, and Thomson's manuscript has not been identified.

1 Scaliger's letter to Thomson has not survived.

2 Thomson had stayed in Geneva in the summer of 1593 and from autumn 1596 until spring

meum ex Italia Greenwichi contigerat mihi,[3] sed tantum videre, idque adeo per nebulam, utroque nostrorum occupatissimo. Itaque tam bellam occasionem libenter arripio, neque sinam illam sine magno meo fructu preterire, quem ex amicitia tua in me redundaturum certo scio.

Quod illustrem virum regium legatum mihi amantissimum esse scribis, id profecto me in ruborem dedit: an tanti ego sim ut ille me saltem respiciat?[4] Agnosco Scaligeri in me magnum affectum—utinam ne caecum: nimius ille est in amicorum laudibus, et saepe falsus. In me tamen ut quam minimum erraverit, sedulo adnitar. Ergo ubi Londinum venero, illustri illi viro me sistam, et coram gratias agam pro tam amico in me animo; nam ne scribam, facit tanti viri authoritas.[5]

Quae Scaligero curanda erunt, illa proxima septimana ad te mittam, ita uti a Nortono bibliopola tibi petenda sint; neque enim novi quo modo alioquin ad te destinari possim.[6] Sed heus, mi oculissime Perrote, et Casauboni ecquid habes? Ubi ille gentium moratur, et quomodo per literas conveniri potest? Studiosissimus sum illius viri, ut scis, et valde aveo scire quid agat, quid muginetur. Ergo, si me amas, significa.

Vale, et me, quod facis, ama. Ego te aeternum.

Cantebrigiae, ex aula Clarae, a. d. XIII Februarii 1599.

Tui amantissimus,

Richardus Thomson.

1597: see chapter 7, 'Geneva, April–August 1593', and chapter 12, 'Geneva, October? 1596–April 1597'.

3 Thomson was in England by December 1599, and may have arrived some weeks before: see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599'.

4 This is the ambassador Jean de Thuméry. For his embassy, see P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV. Mission de Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise (1598–1602)*, Paris, 1886.

5 Thomson had visited De Thuméry in London by 27 May 1600: see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599'.

6 For the possible contents of this package, see Thomson to Perrot, 1 March [1600], note 5. For the printer and bookseller Bonham Norton, see D.L. Gants, 'Norton, Bonham (1565–1635)', ODNB, 2004, 41, pp. 156–158.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Lyon) 28 February 1600

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 239r.

DATE: Thomson, writing to France, dates his letter according to a calendar which begins the new year on 1 January: see the headnotes to Thomson to Perrot, 13 February [1600]. The present letter is dated the last day of February. The year 1600 was a leap year, and the last day of February is the 29th according to the Gregorian calendar. Thomson, however, is using the Julian calendar, which inserted the leap day around 24 February.

TEXT: At two points near the right margin the text of the letter has suffered some loss from the removal of the seal.

There is a short Greek note on the verso of this letter which may be in Thomson's hand. The second half is difficult to read: 'Str. lib. 12. Ληθαῖον τὸν εἰς παρὰ Μαγνησίαν ῥέοντα. ὅτι [...]'. The reference is to Strabo, *Geography*, XII.3.27. Casaubon's commentary on Strabo does not mention this line (Geneva, 1587, part 2, p. 177).

ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / À / Lion.

NOTE: The present letter was sent to Casaubon via Jean de Thuméry, the French ambassador in London.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has not heard from Casaubon for nearly two years, perhaps because Thomson has travelled so extensively. He wrote to Casaubon before he left Italy, entrusting the letter to De Witt. Casaubon should write to him in Cambridge. Thomson is uncertain of Casaubon's whereabouts. When he was in Paris, he heard that Casaubon was to move there. When he does move there, Thomson will visit at once. He sent Casaubon variant readings for Suetonius and Polybius from Italy, but does not know whether they arrived safely. He is sending Scaliger notes on Aristotle's *History of Animals*, for Julius Caesar Scaliger's commentaries on it are to be published. He will send other material to Casaubon when he knows where he is. De Thuméry, who is forwarding the present letter to Casaubon, will ensure that Casaubon's reply reaches Thomson. He sends his regards to Casaubon's family.

Clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s.

Biennium fere est, doctissime Casaubone, ex quo nihil a te literarum viderim;[1] credo quia hominem peregrinantem uno aliquo loco consistere non videbatur tibi verisimile. Scripseram tamen me ex Hetruria pedem non moturum te insalutato, quod sane prestiti; an literas acceperis nescio.[2] Curabat eas communis amicus Ioannes Witten, nobilis Saxo.[3] Quicquid sit, iam Hercle ad me redii et Cantabrigiae sum in Anglia mea. Tu ergo fac amico reduci gratuleris proxima occasione, et ostendas te conservare memoriam nostri per literas. Nihil iucundius, nihil gratius, mihi quidem accidere potest quam si tu me ames nunc ut olim. Multa mihi erant quae ad te scriberem hoc ipso sane tempore, sed quia incertum mihi ubi locorum sies, nihil volo, nihil audeo. Obsecro significa quid agas, et quid non agas. Cum Parisiis essem, de adventu tuo ad illam Academiam certa et constans erat fama.[4] Quid, obsecro, an vana? Ubi audiero te Parisiis venisse, ecce ilico me accingo ad amplectendum te coram, et osculandum tam carum caput.[5]

Miseram olim ex Italia varias aliquot lectiones ad Suetonium et Polybium; aveo scire an acceperis.[6] Graviter ferrem iacturam illarum, quamquam penes me sit autographum. Mitto hodie ad Scaligerum varias in Aristotelem Περὶ ζῴων ἱστορίας lectiones.[7] Nam, ut scias, eduntur commentarii Iulii Scaligeri ad historias Aristotelis sane ingentes et (utar Iosephi Scaligeri verbis) divini.[8] Sunt

3 quia] *sic* LBL ‖ lo[co] *absc.* LBL 4 tame[n m]e *absc.* LBL

1 Casaubon's most recent extant letter to Thomson is dated 19 March 1597.

2 Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 1 March 1599 was written days before Thomson left Italy.

3 This statement indicates that Johannes de Witt was in Italy with Thomson in 1599. De Witt evidently delivered Thomson to Casaubon, 1 March 1599.

4 For Thomson's time in Paris in 1599, see chapter 14, 'Paris, July 1599'.

5 Casaubon reached Paris in March. Thomson promised again in his letter to Casaubon of 22 July 1600 to visit him in Paris, but he never did so. For 'carum caput', 'a beloved person', see Vergil, *Aeneid*, IV.354 and Horace, *Carmina*, I.24.2. The phrase corresponds to φίλη κεφαλή in Homer.

6 Thomson wrote that he had sent these notes in his letter to Casaubon of 1 March 1599.

7 Περὶ ζῴων ἱστορίας: 'On the history of animals'. Thomson probably sent a letter to Scaliger with the textual notes mentioned here, but it has not survived. Scaliger's reply, however, is extant: Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600.

8 At this point there is a long, very thorough, deletion in the autograph, about one line long. This edition of J.C. Scaliger's work was probably announced in the lost letter from Scaliger to Thomson noticed in Thomson to Perrot, 13 February [1600]. It was not published in Thomson's lifetime: see Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600, note 6.

alia multa quae ex Italia exportavi, quae omnia ad te missurus sum ubi audiero te alicubi urbe consistere. Ergo fac sciam. Commodum potes per legatum Christianissimi regis dominum Tumerium Boisezium qui Londoni est.[9] Is has ad te deferendas curat. Obsecro fac quod tam anxie et obnixe rogo. Non vivo sine te, mi oculissime Casaubone.

Vale. Uxori lectissimae, Philippae et Iohanni tuo salutem plurimam et osculum.[10] Iterum vale, mi optime, mi doctissime Casaubone, et si me amas, da operam ut ad reapse intelligam. Vale. Vive.

Cantabrigiae, a. d. Pridie Kal. Martias 1600.

Tuus tuus totus totus Thomson.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London] 1 March [1600]

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 95[r].

DATE: The letter is *sine anno*, but certainly written in 1600. Thomson's first letter to Perrot in England was Thomson to Perrot, 13 February [1600]. The letter to Casaubon which he sends via Perrot in the second paragraph of the present letter is Thomson to Casaubon, 28 February 1600, written the previous day. Perrot was still in England in December 1601: see Thomson to Perrot, 8 December 1601. He probably left in the early months of 1602, for in February Casaubon wrote to Thomson: 'Scripsi raptim et incerta spe, cum fama esset prope constans Perrottum, qui tuas miserat, iam ex Anglia discessisse' (Casaubon to Thomson, 4 February 1602).

SYNOPSIS: Perrot's Latin style is much better than he claims; Thomson's, however, has suffered from his years abroad without books, and from his present immersion in scholastic literature. England demands these theological studies of its inhabitants. Per-

4 quod] q *LBL* 6–7 os[cu]lum *absc. LBL*

9 The French ambassador Jean de Thuméry. For his embassy, see: P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV. Mission de Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise* (*1598–1602*), Paris, 1886.

10 Casaubon's wife Florence, his daughter Philippa (aged 10), and his eldest son Jean (aged 9).

rot's father, deeply learned in the Fathers and the scholastics, would approve. When Thomson visits London, he will be able to speak at greater length with Perrot. He sends manuscripts for Perrot to forward to Scaliger, and a letter to be forwarded to Casaubon.

Clarissimo viro Dionysio Perrotto suo Richardus Thomson. s. d.

Ne tu nos ludos facis, doctissime Perrotte, apud quos styli tui infantiam excusas;[1] quasi vero nos nesciamus quam exacte semper a tenera iuventute institutus sis, et quomodo scribas non possimus iudicare. Ad me pertinebat ista excusatio, qui aliquot iam annos peregre et sine libris discurro; et nunc ad libros reversus, totum me Scoto, Aquinati et Occamo immersi,[2] delicias illas studiorum raro degusto, et non nisi fessus ad illas accedo. Quid faciam? Vides tempora et hos homines, mi Perrote. Frustra simus in Anglia si aliter agamus. Nam quae praemia studiorum nisi theologiae proposita sunt? Itaque ne aliquando panis ostiatim rogandus sit, cogimur divertere ab hac amoenitate literarum, et tristius quid mussitare. Neque vero lectionem tu scholasticorum damnabis sat scio, nisi semel optimum et doctissimum senem parentem tuum auscultandum non putabis, qui in illis et Patribus examussim sese exercuit.[3]

Sed quid ago? De his ergo ociose fabulabimur coram, ubi Londinum venero.[4] Mitto manuscripta quaedam ad Scaligerum: obsecro te, fac curentur probe.[5] Mea enim interest. Literas quas ad Casaubonum dedi, uti promittis, ita fideliter curabis.[6] Vides, mi Perrotte, quam familiariter te utar. Utinam tu quo redhostire

4 ista] *forte PBnF*

1 The letter to Thomson in which Perrot made use of this modesty topos is lost.

2 That is, Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308), Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and William of Ockham (c. 1287–1347).

3 Perrot's father was Charles Perrot (c. 1541–1608). Denis is not to be confused with the pastor of the same name, the brother of Charles, who was killed in the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572.

4 This visit to London probably took place in April: see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599'.

5 These items sent to Scaliger are probably those noticed in Thomson to Perrot, 13 February [1600]: 'Quae Scaligero curanda erunt, illa proxima septimana ad te mittam'. They seem to have included Thomson's manuscript of the lexicon of Photius, and some notes on Aristotle's *History of Animals*: see Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600, and chapter 20, 'The Lexicon of Photius'.

6 This letter is Thomson to Casaubon, 28 February 1600, written the previous day.

possim, et mutuum facere! Excusabis hanc festinationem meam. Nam ut vero dicam, litigamus.[7]

Vale, mi optime, mi suavissime, Perrote, et Thomsonem ama qui te aeternum.

A. d. Kal. Martii, Cantebrigiae. 5

The Fellows of Clare Hall (Cambridge) to Robert Cecil [London]
6 March [1600]

AUTOGRAPH: Hatfield, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 136/72.

DATE: The envelope is endorsed with a note, apparently by one of Cecil's secretaries: '1599 XI.47. / Feb. 24. / March 6. / The Fellowes of Clare / Hall to my master'. It would be natural to suppose that the first date in this note, 24 February, is according to the Julian calendar, while the second, 6 March, is according to the Gregorian calendar. However, the date subscribed by the Fellows, 6 March, must be Julian.

TEXT: The letter is in Thomson's hand, and was probably composed by him. The verso is blank. The envelope, a separate sheet of paper, also survives. The address written on it in English appears not to be in Thomson's hand.

ADDRESS: To the right honorable / Sir Robert Cecill master / of the Courte of Wards / and principall Secretary / to hir majestye.

NOTE: This letter is signed by six Fellows of Clare Hall, Cambridge. For the Fellow's dispute, see section 16, 'England, from December 1599'.

SYNOPSIS: The senders are grateful for all that Cecil and his late father have done for the University. They are particularly grateful for Cecil's support regarding the mastership of Clare Hall, and are still hopeful for the outcome. Should their hopes be disappointed, their gratitude will remain.

7 Thomson seems to allude to the struggle of the fellows of Clare Hall to elect the master of the college. The fellows signed an appeal to Robert Cecil on 6 March: see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599'.

Multa extant et magna parentis tui, aeternae memoriae viri, ac tua quoque in Academiam beneficia, illustris domine, quorum nomine aeternum vobis debitura est.[1] Nimirum propria pridem et domestica nomini vestro virtus est putare id solum vobis accedere quod publica res quaesiverit. Nos vero, domine, etiam extra ordinem peculiari beneficio affecisti, dum de Collegii praefectura sollicitos praesentanea tua opera sublevare dignatus es. Quod enim hactenus tam honesto voto non excidimus, tui est muneris; et quod porro bene speramus, tua est benignitatis. Utcunque ergo haec tam praeclara spes in posterum nos destituat, magna tamen praerogativa fuerit caussam nostram tam illustri et sapienti viro aliquando placuisse. Pro eo itaque ac debemus beneficio immortales tibi gratias agimus, et quod importunitate nostra peccatum est, serio deprecamur. Crede nobis, arcana omnium nostrum pectora aeternum possidebis. Quod reliquum est, Deus te pro tanta gratia muneretur. Et siquidem summis bonis nihil adiici potest, tutari erga te velit propria quae dedit.

Vale, vir illustris. Nos vota pro te facimus.

Cantebrigiae, ex Aula Clarensi, a. d. VI Martii.

Illustri nomini tuo devotissimi,

Gulielmus Boys.[2] Johannes Allertone.[3]
Eduardus Manistie.[4] Jehochanan Mawde.[5]
Richardus Thomson. Georgius Ruggle.[6]

1 Robert's father William Cecil, first Baron Burghley, had died in August 1598. He had been Chancellor of the University of Cambridge from 1559 until his death. In 1601, Robert Cecil became Chancellor of the University.

2 For Boys (or Bois), elected Master of the college by the Fellows, see Venn and Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 1913, p. 88. He was Senior Proctor of the University in 1599: see the letter from the Fellows of Clare Hall to Cecil, 25 December 1599 (pp. 221–222).

3 For Allertone, see ibid. (p. 222).

4 For Manistie, see ibid. (p. 222).

5 Mawde (or Maude) graduated B.A. in 1596, M.A. in 1599 (Venn and Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 1913, p. 454).

6 For Ruggle, see the letter from the Fellows of Clare Hall to Cecil, 25 December 1599 (p. 222).

Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge] 5 July 1600

PRINT: Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1610, pp. 434–436.
Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1612, pp. 291–293.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 235, pp. 503–504.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 235, pp. 461–463.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 438–441.

DATE: The letter is dated 'VIII Kal. Quintilis Iuliani', or 25 June, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 5 July. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

NOTE: Thomson seems to have been in Cambridge at this date: he wrote to Casaubon from Cambridge on 28 February and on 22 July 1600. The present letter is likely to be a reply to a lost letter which Thomson wrote around the time he wrote Thomson to Casaubon, 28 February 1600, *q. v.*

SYNOPSIS: Thomson's most recent letter indicates that he has not yet received Scaliger's latest letter. Scaliger returns Thomson's manuscript of Photius' lexicon, recommending that it be published for the benefit of students. Mountague has written to him about a recently discovered work of Tertullian, and Scaliger would like to know more. Scaliger has received Thomson's notes on Aristotle. The printers are very slow. He explains a passage in Synesius.

Iosephus Scaliger Richardo Thomsoni suo s.

Quum tuas postremas accepi, una cum schedio Politiani, ex illis cognovi tibi nondum redditas fuisse meas, quibus te certiorem faciebam de Photii lexico et schediis ad me missis.[1] Remitto tibi nunc Photium tuum, optimum sane librum et quem edi e re literaria est, quanquam omnia quae in illo sunt hodie in aliis unde ipse hausit extant.[2] Quia tamen laborem legentium levare posset quod in

3 certiorem te *s-1627* ‖ faciebam *pp* missis *s-1627* 6 posset] possit *s-1627*

1 For these notes by Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

2 For Thomson's dealings with Photius' lexicon, see chapter 20, 'The Lexicon of Photius'. Thomson stated that Scaliger had said precisely the opposite in his letter to Casaubon of 22 July 1600.

eo omnia congesta sunt quae sparsim in aliis relegere labor est, non exiguam a studiosis gratiam iniveris, si tam utilem librum in publicum exire patiaris. Extat hodie magno cum fructu legentium similis labor Varini Favorini, qui aequalis fuit saeculi Politiani. Et quanquam apud studiosos magna in gratia est, nihil tamen habet quod non hodie in aliis reperiatur.[3]

In postremis meis petebam a te ut ex Richardo a Monteacuto sciscitareris nunquid verum sit quod de opusculo Tertulliani nuper reperto ad me scribebat.[4] Movit mihi salivam epistola sua et hactenus λάρος χάσκων.[5] Ego tuis illis in Aristotelis Περὶ ζῴων ἱστορίας analectis coenulas patris mei instruam, cuius *Commentarii* describuntur adhuc.[6] Si quid amplius habes quod φιλοπονίαν nostram iuvare possit, comiter imperti.[7] Nunquam enim otiosi sumus, atque utinam votorum nostrorum vela ferrent typographi. Sed ab eis ventus nos deserit quominus ad portus nostros vela faciamus. Aut enim recusant edere, aut si recipiunt, suo commodo excudunt et interea nos torquent expectatione. Dum ipsi res suas agunt, nostras negligunt.[8]

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2 exstat *s-1612*, *s-1627* 8 epistola] epistosa *s-1612* 12 typographi ferrent *s-1627* 13 edere recusant *s-1627* 14 exspectatione *s-1612*, *s-1627*

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3 Guarino of Favera, or Varinus Phavorinus, compiled a Greek *Dictionarium* which was first printed in Rome, 1523. It was reprinted by Joachimus Camerarius the Elder in Basle in 1538, the last edition of the sixteenth century. For Guarino's lexicon, see Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*, Philadelphia, 2010, p. 70.

4 For Mountague's discovery of a lost work by Tertullian, a false alarm, see chapter 18, 'Richard Mountague'.

5 Λάρος χάσκων: 'a sea-gull with its mouth wide open'. Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 1948: 'Larus hians'. Compare Aristophanes, *Knights*, 956: 'Λάρος κεχηνὼς ἐπὶ πέτρας δημηγορῶν'.

6 Περὶ ζῴων ἱστορίας: 'On the history of animals'. Thomson had written to Casaubon on 28 February 1600: 'Mitto hodie ad Scaligerum varias in Aristotelem Περὶ ζῴων ἱστορίας lectiones'. Franciscus Dousa was at work on an edition of this work of J.C. Scaliger in 1600, but left for England in the autumn: see chapter 19, 'Visitors to Cambridge', note 1. It was finally published in 1619 by Philippe-Jacques de Maussac: *Aristotelis Περὶ ζῴων ἱστορίας. Historia de animalibus, Iulio Caesare Scaligero interprete, cum eiusdem commentariis. … Accedit fragmentum quod decimus historiarum inscribitur*, Toulouse, D. et P. Bosc, 1619. The imagery of 'coenulas … instruam' is unclear to me.

7 Φιλοπονίαν: 'love of labour'.

8 This remark need not refer to any particular work of Scaliger's then in the press. It does not refer to his edition of Eusebius, the *Thesaurus temporum*, which was still in preparation, and would not be published until 1606. Scaliger may have in mind: *Stromateus proverbiorum Graecorum, versibus conceptorum, Iosephus Scaliger … collegit et concinnavit …. Adiunctum est Astrampsychi … Onirocriticon*, Leiden, 1600.

De loco Synesii, ὅταν ἔτνους προκειμένου μετώπων ἐξέτασις γίνηται ....[9] 'Quando', inquit, 'in convivio philosophico oritur iocularis (ut solet inter epulas) disceptatio de fronte calva, tu primus te praedicas atque adeo de calvitio serio triumphas'. Ἔτνος ostendit frugalitatem caenae philosophicae. Eae enim erant epulae philosophorum, ἔψημα ὀσπρίου, φακῆ, λέκιθος, quae ἔτνους nomine comprehenduntur.[10] Eiusmodi est olla ἔτνους in caena philosophi apud Gellium lib. XVII, cap. VIII.[11] In conviviis autem philosophorum agitur non de vectigalibus reipublicae, neque profecto de mathematicis aut gravioribus studiis, sed de iis quae bellaria sunt caenae, hoc est, de frivolis, ut in *Symposio* Xenophontis: ἐπὶ τίνι φρονεῖς μάλιστα, Σώκρατες.[12] Et hic apud Synesium *De calvitio*. Iam προκείμενον ἔτνος dici, quod 'appositum' Suetonius dixit, non ignoras.[13] 'Anteponere prandium et ientaculum' dixit Plautus.[14] Ita vertes: 'Quando apposita lente, frontium (calvarum) spectatio sit' (aut 'examen'). Hanc puto esse mentem Synesii. Tu fortasse, si animum adiicias, melius comminisceris, atque utinam. Nos melius non potuimus.

Vale, mi Thomson, et nos ama.

Lugduni Batavorum, VIII Kal. Quintilis Iuliani M D C.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon [Lyon] 22 July 1600

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 240r–v.
TEXT: There is no envelope bound with this autograph letter.
NOTE: This letter must have been addressed to Casaubon in Paris, although he was certainly in Lyon on 22 July 1600. He signed the preface to his commentary on Athenaeus in Lyon on 16

4 caenae *s-1612*, *s-1627* 5 λέκιθος] λέκυθος *s-1627* ‖ ἔτνους[1]] ἔτιους *s-1612* 6 coena *s-1612*, *s-1627* 7 XVII] 17 *s-1612*, *s-1627* ‖ agitur *pp* studiis *s-1627* 9 coenae *s-1612*, *s-1627* 17 VIII] 8 *s-1612* ‖ Quinctilis *s-1627* ‖ M D C] 1600 *s-1612*

9 'When soup has been served and an examination of foreheads is underway ...'. Synesius of Cyrene, *In Praise of Baldness*, II.3.

10 Ἔψημα ὀσπρίου, φακῆ, λέκιθος: 'boiled pulses, lentil soup, gruel'.

11 Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, XVII.8.

12 Ἐπὶ τίνι φρονεῖς μάλιστα, Σώκρατες: 'of what are you most proud, Socrates?' Xenophon, *Symposium*, III.10.1: ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὦ Σώκρατες;

13 Suetonius, *Vitellius*, XIII.2: 'Famosissima ... fuit cena ... in qua duo milia lectissimorum piscium, septem avium apposita traduntur'.

14 Plautus, *Curculio*, 73.

July (Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600, sigs ¶2r–¶3r) and dated a letter of 5 August to David Hoeschel from Lyon (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 212, p. 108).

Thomson wrote at least four letters on this day, all sent via Denis Perrot in London. With Thomson to Perrot, 22 July 1600, he sent the present letter and a letter, now lost, to Scaliger. With the lost letter to Scaliger, he probably sent Thomson to Vulcanius, 22 July 1600, so that Scaliger could forward it to its addressee in Leiden. The present letter to Casaubon must have been part of this package for some of its journey.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson is delighted to have received Casaubon's letter after a long silence. He knew of Casaubon's summons to the University of Paris some time ago, and while in that city he heard some Catholic objections to the appointment. If Casaubon does move to Paris, Thomson will visit him. Julius Caesar Scaliger's work on Aristotle is to be printed in The Netherlands, and Thomson has sent some notes for this project which he collected in Italy to Joseph Scaliger. He asks whether Casaubon has received the notes he sent on Polybius and Suetonius; if so he will send more. He has already sent Scaliger his manuscript of the lexicon of Photius. He left unpublished fragments of Diodorus Siculus with Hoeschel, who will append them to his edition of Photius. Everyone is eager to see Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus. Thomson would like a copy as soon as possible, inscribed to him. It may be sent via Frankfurt and Ascanius or Norton, or via Paris and De Thuméry. He sends his regards to Casaubon's wife. He recently had cause to recall his conversation with Casaubon in Geneva about the New World. He would like a brief account of Casaubon's reasons for believing that it was unknown to the ancients: he plans to write something on the subject.

Clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s. p.

Quam gratae mihi fuerint literae tuae, mi oculissime et suavissime Casaubone, non est quod pluribus apud te prosequar, qui me tam penitus et probe nosti.[1]

1 Casaubon's letter to Thomson has not come to light.

Ita tu me semper et unus ames, vita haec mea mihi acerba erat et ingrata in tam diuturno tuo silentio. Ergo benefecisti quod iucundissimis tuis literis amarorem illum ab anima mea absterseris, et me mihi addideris. Sedulo adnitar porro ne occasiones frequentius scribendi desint.[2]

De vocatione tua ad instaurandam Academiam Parisinam pridem inaudiveram; etiam quam aegre hoc quidam ferre videbantur, coram ibidem animadverteram, caussasque adeo quas praetendebant didiceram.[3] Miseros homines, qui invidiam relligione, inscitiam pietatis zelo palliant! Soli regnare volunt, ut vides, et cymbalum stultae iuventutis audire,[4] quod in illa literarum vastitate ipsis facile fuit. Itaque saepicule indignabar cum illos de te loquentes audirem, et quam parum catholice crederes garrientes. Hoc illi curant scilicet. Tu autem bene facis, optime et doctissime Casaubone, qui tam constanter hactenus profiteris quam a pueris imbibisti: sanctam fidem et immaculatam religionem, eamque illa eruditione ex literis exornas qua pridem princeps doctiorum elues.[5] Ego vota pro te facio. Quicquid autem erit de sede et domo tuo, obsecro te fac sciam quid decreveris et ubi consistere. Nam si semel certum erit te Parisiis fixisse lares tuos, ilico ad te advolo, et in amplexus tuos. Quare fac sciam, si me videre amas.[6]

De Scaligeri commentario ad *Historias* Aristotelis, ita est uti scripsi: eduntur in Batavis.[7] Eaque fine varias lectiones ad Iosephum misi quas in Italia ex manuscripto collegeram.[8] Miseram ad te quoque varias lectiones ad Polybium et Suetonium, sed an acceperis unquam hactenus discere non potui.[9] Ea caussa

8 relligione] *sic* LBL 15 [elu]es *absc.* LBL

2 The letter which Thomson has received from Casaubon is the first for about two years: see Thomson to Casaubon, 28 February 1600.

3 Thomson had been in Paris in the summer of 1599, and had heard that Casaubon was to be summoned: see chapter 14, 'Paris, July 1599'.

4 Compare *Appendix Vergiliana*, *Catalepta*, 7, 5: 'inanis cymbalon iuventutis'.

5 The final word of this sentence is damaged in the autograph. The sense seems to be that Casaubon is now illuminating with his learning those religious truths he first clarified with it.

6 Thomson made the same promise in his letter to Casaubon of 28 February 1600, but he never visited him in Paris.

7 For this edition of Julius Caesar Scaliger's commentaries on Aristotle's *History of Animals*, see Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600, note 6.

8 These seem not to be *variae lectiones* on the works of Flavius Josephus, but *variae lectiones* which he sent to Joseph Scaliger, Julius Caesar Scaliger's son.

9 This is the third time Thomson has mentioned these variant readings for Polybius and Suetonius: see his letters to Casaubon of 1 March 1599 and 28 February 1600. He had sent them from Italy by March 1599.

est cur multa alia iam non mittam. Habeo enim, ut scias, multa et praeclara ad Theophrastum, Ammianum Marcellinum, Ovidium, Statium, *Epistolas ad Atticum*, Martialem. Photiae lexicon pridem ad Scaligerum misi, qui in eo multa se reperisse scribit quae frustra alibi quaeras.[10] Eglogas aliquot librorum Diodori Siculi, quae in Photiae *Bibliotheca* non erant, apud Hoeschelium reliqui, adiecturum se recepit ad calcem *Bibliothecae* instar mantisae.[11] Alia sunt quae propterea in Italia collegi, si quando a lectione Thomae Aquinatis vacabam, aut Averrois;[12] quae ad te mittam, quam primum scivero quid decreveris.

Athenaeum tuum avidissime expectamus omnes quibus de 'meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan'.[13] Ergo magnas apud me inibis gratias, si quam primum poteris, eius divini operis exemplar ad me miseris.[14] Id autem commodissime facis, si vel Francofurti, Ascanio bibliopolae nostro, vel etiam Nortono tradendum cures, sed nomine meo tua manu inscripto;[15] vel si Parisiis, Londinum ad legatum Gallicum dominum Boisizium mittendum cures. Nam et hac et illac tuto curabitur.[16]

13 inscripto. ~~Vel si Parisiis ad D. legatum Regis xxxxx~~ *LBL*

10 Scaliger said precisely the opposite about the lexicon in Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600.

11 For the discovery of these fragments, see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'; for their publication, see chapter 15, 'Augsburg, Autumn 1599?'. In the event, they were not published with David Hoeschel's edition of Photius, but in Hoeschel's edition of the extracts *De legationibus* in Augsburg in 1603. The verb used by Thomson in the present letter, 'reliqui', suggests that he passed through Augsburg on his way back from Italy.

12 Thomson's reading of Aquinas is also noticed in Thomson's letter to Perrot of 1 March 1600 (pp. 229–231).

13 Juvenal, *Satires*, XIV.35.

14 Casaubon's edition of the text of Athenaeus was published in 1597, and Thomson already owned a copy. Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus was printed in 1600: Casaubon, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, 1600. A copy inscribed to Thomson by Casaubon is now in Exeter Cathedral Library: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed books', no. 18. For Thomson's marginalia in this book, see chapter 17, 'Reading Casaubon on Athenaeus'.

15 Ascanio de Renialme (or Rinialme) was an Italian book dealer based in London. He imported many continental books. See R.B. McKerrow, ed. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557–1640*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 225–226. Ascanio is also mentioned in Thomson to Camden, 1 July 1594. For the printer and bookseller Bonham Norton, see D.L. Gants, 'Norton, Bonham (1565–1635)', ODNB, 2004, 41, pp. 156–158.

16 The French ambassador in London, Jean de Thuméry. For his embassy, see P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV. Mission de Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise (1598–1602)*, Paris, 1886.

Interim vale, mi doctissime, mi suavissime Casaubone. Uxori lectissimae, ubi occasio erit, salutem dices, cui quam primum Lutetiam venerit, Anglicas aliquot delicias mittam.[17] Iterum vale et me, ut facis, ama.

Cantebrigiae, ex a. d. XI Cal. Augusti 600. Ignosce illiteratis hisce et incultis literis.

Nuper cum sermo, ut fit, incidisset de America, retuli quod olim te Genevae dicere memini: nimirum ignotas fuisse antiquis; neque Salomonem, quicquid Arias Montanus agat, aurum Peruaiim inde petiisse.[18] Ea res mihi nescio quid liticulae movit. Itaque obnixe te obtestor per amicitiam nostram uti breviter describis rationes tuas. Tantum auctores indices, et digitum intendas unde auxiliam petere debeam. Nam statui hoc plene tractare.[19] Hic facies, nisi molestum erit.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Bonaventura Vulcanius (Leiden) 22 July 1600

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, Vulc. 105: I, fol. 7$^{r–v}$.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo viro / Bonaventurae Vul- / canio / Lugdun. Batavorum.
NOTE: Thomson wrote a number of letters on 22 July, all sent via Denis Perrot: see the headnotes to Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600.

17 Casaubon's wife Florence, daughter of the scholar-printer Henri Estienne.

18 Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) oversaw publication of the Antwerp polyglot Bible in 1571–1572. Montano identified Ophir, the source of King Solomon's gold in 1 Kings 9.28 with the gold of 'Parvaim' in 2 Chronicles 3.6. He went on to identify 'Parvaim' with Peru. See G. Gliozzi, *Adamo e il nuovo mondo. La nascita dell'antropologia come ideologia coloniale: Dalle genealogie bibliche alle teorie razziali (1500–1700)*, Florence, 1977; Z. Shalev, 'Sacred geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible', *Imago Mundi*, 55, 2003, pp. 56–80, p. 71.

19 Thomson reminded Casaubon of his enquiry in his letter to Casaubon of 21 July 1601. He asked Scaliger about the same matter: see Scaliger's letters to Thomson of 16 July 1601 and 23 August 1601. In Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 10 April 1597, Thomson spoke of some notes which he found in a library in Geneva 'exscripta quaedam ex novo orbe'. He entrusted them to Paul Estienne for delivery to Casaubon, and they must be connected to those collected in Casaubon's notes under the title 'An priscis novus orbis fuerit incognitus?' See J.C. Wolf, ed. *Casauboniana*, Hamburg, 1710, p. 51. No work on the subject by Thomson has come to light.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has neglected their correspondence. He regrets that he has not been able to show Vulcanius his manuscript of Photius, but it has little not in other lexica. Scaliger has sent it back: when it arrives, Thomson will send it, although he has already promised to give it to Bodley. He is glad to hear Vulcanius' news of his glossaries. Isidore particularly needs Vulcanius' attention, and English libraries have useful manuscripts of the work. Who is Ammonius? He does not understand what Vulcanius intends. Vulcanius' edition of Apuleius was very popular in Florence, and Thomson distributed several copies. Two copies of Callimachus made Thomson a great man in a land where few read Greek. He greets Hospita and others. He never met the friends Vulcanius commended: they came to Cambridge, but did not have Thomson's name. They later sent intermediaries to collect the material.

Clarissimo viro Bonaventurae Vulcanio Richardus Thomson s. d.

Agnosco negligentiam meam, clarissime et doctissime Vulcani. Etiam quod abs me peccatum est, serio deprecor. Compensabo in posterum veterem hanc culpam, nova imo vel nimia diligentia. Photium meum doleo non potuisse usibus tuis inservire, quibus omnia mea pridem devovi.[1] Tamen minus doleo, cum cogito quam nihil in illo sit bonae frugis quod in editis illis lexicographis non reperiatur. Nam, ut scias, magnam partem illius lexici cum Suida, Phavorino, Hesychio, Apostolio, Zenobio, Harpocratione contuli.[2] Eadem fere ubique, et saepe in plerumque iisdem verbis, quod valde miratus sum. Tamen si in tempore ad me redierit, et commodum potero, faciam tibi eius legendi copiam. Scaligerum audio pridem misisse; ubi haereat, nescio. Et tamen impetranda

1 For the fortunes of Thomson's manuscript of Photius, see chapter 20, 'The Lexicon of Photius'.

2 For the Suda lexicon, for the lexicon compiled by Guarino of Favera, for Hesychius, and for Harpocration: see Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*, Philadephia, 2010, pp. 55–57, 59–61, 70. Thomson's annotated copy of an early edition of Hesychius survives: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 1. Zenobius (fl. second century A.D.) compiled a collection of proverbs: see W. Smith, ed. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, 3 vols, London, 1872, 3, p. 1311. For the fifteenth-century Byzantine Michael Apostolis, whose collection of proverbs is extant, see A.-M. Talbot, 'Apostoles, Michael', in A.P. Kazhdan, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1991, 1, p. 140.

mihi venia erit ab Oxoniensibus: pridem enim domino Bodlaeo (qui insignem bibliothecam Oxonii exstruxit) eum addixi auctorem.[3]

De glossariis tuis quod scribis equidem gaudeo. Nihilominus an glossas illas olim abs te cum Isidoro editas intelligas, non satis mihi videor intellexisse.[4] Sane Isidorus tuam manum omnino postulat. Utinam eum cum nostris manuscriptis conlatum ad te mittere licuisset![5] Habemus enim in bibliothecis nostris bonae et veteris notae plurima exemplaria. Sed quid Ammonius Graecus scriptor iis adiungitur?[6] Ergo uti vides non satis te capio. Credebam ergo te glossariam Henrici Stephani intelligere, quae emendata et expurgata nobis esses daturus cum illa tua mantissa. Profecto tu id solus (vel certe cum paucis) potes.

Apuleius olim abs te editus, valde placuit in Italia Florentinis meis.[7] Eius ego 12 exemplaria Lugduno et aliunde petita amicis ibidem distribui. Pauci Graece illis locis intelligunt, itaque binis Callimachi exemplaribus me valde magnificum feci.[8] Magna inter illos inopia bonorum librorum, qui fit ut huiusmodi deliciae transalpinae ipsis valde placeant.

8 uti] *forte* LUB 9 Henrici Stephani] H. Ste. LUB

3 Thomas Bodley (1545–1613), founder of the Bodleian Library.

4 Thomson acknowledged receipt of Vulcanius' edition of lexical works including Isidore in his letter to Vulcanius of 5 February 1600: *Thesaurus utriusque linguae, hoc est Philoxeni, aliorumque veterum authorum glossaria Latino-Graeca et Graeco-Latina. Isidori glossae Latinae. Veteres grammatici Latini et Graeci qui de proprietate et differentiis vocabularum utriusque linguae scripserunt; edita omnia atque recognita studio et opera Bonaventurae Vulcanii*, Leiden, excudebat Ioannes Patius, 1600. Vulcanius may have confused Thomson by referring to another lexicographical work printed the same year: *Onomasticon vocum Latino-Graecarum, prioribus illis glossariis praestantia selectissimorum vocabulorum nihilo inferius; olim quidem Argentorati an. M.D.XXXVI. editum, et Calepino praefixum. Nunc vero ab innumeris iisque foedissimis mendis, quibus scatebat, repurgatum*, Leiden, ex officina Ioannis Patii, 1600. Both works are usually found bound together.

5 The sentence which follows makes it likely that Thomson is referring to manuscripts of Isidore in English libraries, not to manuscripts of the work in his own collection.

6 For the work of this author, see K. Nickau, *Ammonii qui dicitur liber de adfinium vocabulorum differentia*, Leipzig, 1966.

7 *L. Apuleii … Opera omnia quae exstant. E quibus, post ultimam P. Colvii editionem, philosophici libri … expurgati … aucti per Bon. Vulcanium Brugensem*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud F. Raphalengium, 1594.

8 In the context, we may suppose that at least one of these was Vulcanius' edition: *Callimachi Cyrenaei hymni, epigrammata et fragmenta, quae extant. Et separatim, Moschi Syracusii, et Bionis Smyrnaei idyllia. Bonaventura Vulcanio Brugensi interprete. Cum annotationibus eiusdem et indice copioso*, Antwerp, apud C. Plantinum, 1584.

Vale, mi doctissime, humanissime Vulcani, et, quod facis, me ama. Salutem plurimam dominae Hospitae, si quidem vivit, quod spero, et si qui sint amici et bene volentes alii.[9]

Cantebrigiae, a. d. XI Kal. Augusti 1600.

Amici illi tui quos tam anxie commendasti nusquam comparuerunt, quod doleo.[10] Avebam enim reapse ipsis ostendere quanti te facerem. Venerunt quidem Cantebrigiam, sed cum literas Londini reliquissent, simul nominem meum reliquerant. Itaque postea per Bohemos quosdam miserunt, quibus omnia praestiti.

Tuus Thomson.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London] 22 July 1600

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fols 95^{v}–96^{r}.

NOTE: Thomson wrote a number of letters on 22 July, all sent via Perrot: see the headnotes to Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson, and indeed the University, were excited to have a letter from Casaubon. He will share the news with Perrot when he comes to London. Meanwhile, he asks Perrot to forward his reply to Casaubon. When they meet, Thomson will speak of the wrangles of Plessis-Mornay and Du Perron. He asks Perrot to forward a letter to Scaliger, and sends his regards to De Thuméry.

Clarissimo viro Dionysio Perroto suo R. Thomson s.

Magno me mactasti gaudio, mi oculissime Perrote, missis a Casaubono litteris.[1] Deus bone, quibus per Academiam incessere animis, imo pedibus, recepto

1–2 Salutem plurimam] S. p. *LUB* 13 incessere] *correxi ex* incesse *PBnF*

9 Thomson sent his regards to Hospita in four letters to Vulcanius, dated 7 May 1594, 30 May 1594, 5 August 1594 and 4 February 1595.

10 These visitors to Cambridge, friends of Vulcanius, have not been identified.

1 This letter from Casaubon to Thomson has not survived.

tam laeto nuntio![2] Profecto etiamnum cor intus mihi ludit, et mens icta novis subsilit ignibus. Vides hominem perfusum, seu vino, seu vena poetica. Ergo εὐαγγέλια θύομεν, quod nos denuo salutarit per litteras Casaubonus αὐτάδελφον μοὶ κάρα, quod vivat, quod nos amet.[3] Tibi vero satis ampla εὐαγγέλια dabuntur ubi Londinum venero. Interim ut responsum hoc nostrum ad Casaubonum cures, te etiam atque etiam rogo.[4]

De Morneo et Perone coram ociose confabulabimur.[5] De loco quodam Scoti audio eos acriter contendisse.[6] Profecto risi cum istud audirem; sed ut dixi coram. Nisi molestum erit, etiam has ad dominum Scaligerum mittes.[7] Vides, mi Perrote, quam familiariter te habeam, quod non facerem nisi persuasum animo meo esset valde me amari abs te.

Vale.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. XI Cal. Augusti 1600.

Tuus Thomson.

Illustrem virum dominum legatum, qua possum observantia, saluto.[8]

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1 ludit] *forte PBnF* ‖ mens] *correxi ex* men *PBnF* 7 Perone] *sic PBnF* ‖ ociose] *sic PBnF* 11 esset] *sic PBnF*

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2 The *Academia* is the University of Cambridge. Thomson had not heard from Casaubon for about two years when he received the letter noticed here: see Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600.

3 Εὐαγγέλια θύομεν: 'we celebrate the good news'. For αὐτάδελφον μοὶ κάρα, 'my dear brother', compare the first line of Sophocles, *Antigone*: Ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα. A similar turn of phrase is used in Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 1 January 1597, and Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 24 May and 7 July 1608.

4 Thomson refers to his letter to Casaubon of 22 July 1600.

5 Thomson refers to Philippe du Plessis-Mornay (1549–1623) and Jacques Davy Du Perron (1556–1618), Bishop of Évreux and later Cardinal. A famous public debate at Fontainebleau in May 1600 pitted the Protestant Plessis-Mornay against the Catholic Bishop, from which the latter emerged victorious.

6 That is, a passage in the works of the theologian John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308). The passage has not been identified. Thomson spoke of reading Scotus in his letter to Perrot of 1 March 1600 (pp. 229–231).

7 This letter to Scaliger has not survived. It may have asked Scaliger to pass on Thomson's letter to Vulcanius of 22 July 1600.

8 The 'legatus' is Jean de Thuméry, French ambassador in London. For his embassy, see P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV. Mission de Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise* (*1598–1602*), Paris, 1886.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London] 27 August 1600

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 95r–v.
DATE: The scribe of the Dupuy manuscript copy corrected the date from 1602 to 1600. The accuracy of this correction is confirmed by the fact that Scaliger thanked Thomson for the catalogue of the Oxford manuscripts in a letter of December 1600.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson is grateful to have received letters from Perrot and Scaliger. At Scaliger's request, he is now collating Eusebius' *Chronicon*. His letter to Scaliger contains a fragment of Hippocrates he believes to be unpublished: he invites Perrot to read it before he sends it on to Scaliger. Thomson will soon send details of the passage in Seneca and Appian he discussed with De Thuméry. The Ascanii will give Perrot a catalogue of manuscripts, which he should forward with Thomson's letter to Scaliger.

Clarissimo viro Dionysio Perroto suo Richardus Thomson s.

Accepi et tuas et Scaligeri literas, suavissime Perrote.[1] Deus bone, quibus incessere gaudiis ubi illae mihi redditae sunt! Nam Scaligerum in tanto silentio vix valere commode existimabam. Scis quam minimis momentis aetas ingravescere impelli potest et solet. Iam ergo hoc nomine animitus laetor, et tibi gratias ago pro tam amico officio.

Scripsit ad me Scaliger de conferendo *Chronico* Eusebii, in quo sum totus quantus;[2] puto editurum, et sane habet campum in quo se exerceat.[3] Adiunxi literis meis ad Scaligerum fragmentum quoddam Hippocratis Περὶ φαρμάκων, hactenus ut puto ineditum; quod si videre tanti erit, poteris reserare literas et inspicere.[4] Proxime ad te mittam locum illum Senecae et Appiani de quo

2–3 incessere] *correxi ex* incesse *PBnF* 4–5 ingravescere] *forte PBnF*

1 Both letters are lost. Thomson does not refer to Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600.

2 For this collation of Eusebius, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, p. 507.

3 Scaliger's edition of Eusebius was not published until 1606: *Thesaurus temporum. Eusebii Chronicorum Canonum omnimodae historiae libri duo, interprete Hieronymo. Item auctores omnes derelicta ab Eusebio et Hieronymo continuantes. Eiusdem Eusebii utriusque partis Chronicorum Canonum reliquiae Graecae quae colligi potuerunt, antehac non editae*, Leiden, excudebat Thomas Basson, sumptibus Commelinorum, 1606.

4 Thomson's letter to Scaliger is lost. The fragment of Hippocrates which he sent is probably

mihi sermo cum illustri domino legato:[5] iam enim valde disteneor[6] et varie. Adiunges literis ad Scaligerum exemplum libri indicis manuscriptorum librorum nostrorum, quod Ascanii tibi dabunt.[7] Ita enim promiserant.

Vale, mi optime, mi doctissime, Perrote, et me ama.

Cantabrigiae, 27 Augusti 1600.

Tuus Thomson.

Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge] 20 September 1600

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1638, no. 604, pp. 706–707.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1656, no. 208, pp. 230–231.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 213, p. 109.

NOTE: Thomson was in Cambridge on 27 August and on 3 December 1600, and he seems to have remained there during the intervening period.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon sends a copy of his commentary on Athenaeus. It was prepared under difficult circumstances, and Casaubon would like to receive any corrections Thomson or others may have. Casaubon would be delighted should Thomson fulfil his promise to visit him and his family in Paris. He was glad to hear

1 disteneor] *sic PBnF* 5 1600] 160ƨ\0/ *PBnF*

the brief work which goes under the title Περὶ τῶν φαρμάκων καθαιρόντων (also known as *De purgantibus* or *De remediis*). It had been published before 1600, but was not usually printed among the collected works of Hippocrates. It had, however, been recently printed in Leiden in Greek and Latin: *Hippocratis prolegomena et prognosticorum libri tres: cum paraphrastica versione et brevibus commentariis I. Heurnii*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, 1597, pp. 167–174. For its fortunes, see H. Schöne, 'Hippokrates Περὶ φαρμάκων', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 73, 1924, pp. 434–448.

5 The 'legatus' is Jean de Thuméry. For this visit to London, which probably took place in April, see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599', and Thomson to Perrot, 1 March [1600]. The passage in question has not been identified.

6 'Disteneor', 'I am occupied', is a variant of, or a slip for, 'distineor'.

7 The catalogue is: James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600. One of the Ascanii was probably Ascanio de Renialme (or Rinialme), an Italian book dealer based in London: see R.B. McKerrow, ed. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557–1640*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 225–226. Ascanio is mentioned in Thomson to Camden, 1 July 1594, and in Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600.

Thomson's news regarding Cicero's letters to Atticus. The commentary of N. on the letters is careless, and Casaubon is preparing one of his own on them. Casaubon's position in Paris is precarious: Scaliger warned him of its dangers, but Casaubon's works would have remained unpublished had he not taken it. Casaubon has received Thomson's notes on Polybius and Suetonius. He is as yet unable to answer Thomson's question: although he dealt with the matter some years ago in Geneva, his notes on it are still packed with the rest of his library. When he is settled, he will respond. Casaubon's family send their regards.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Ecce tibi quem tantopere visus es optare, amicissime Thomson, *Animadversionum* nostrarum librum.[1] Qui si spei tuae nulla respondeat ex parte, testor fidem tuam, non hanc esse meam, sed tuam culpam. Nam ego quid feci, quid dixi, cur exspectationem tantam infortunatissimi scripti in animo tuo excitarem? Equidem τὸ καδδύναμιν fide bona praestiti:[2] sed magna optimo Deo gratia, quod quantum inter velle et posse meum interesset, serio tandem isto maxime experimento didici. Adde quod otium et quietem altam studia haec postulant. Nos ab instituto opere variis casibus continuo iactati, vix mensem unum, vix diem tranquillum inter libros egimus. Quae summa studiorum meorum infelicitas, facile, spero, veniam a te, et ab omnibus aequis iudicibus, meis culpis impetrabit. Ego vero, mi Thomson, etiam illud a te pro mutuo amore nostro exspecto ut quaecunque aut ipse animadverteris, aut ab aliis animadversa esse cognoveris perperam nobis scripta, ea omnia in schedam coniicias, et mecum, ᾗ θέμις ἐστί, τοιοῦτον φίλον communices.[3] Hoc mihi praesta officium, et immortalitate me donatum abs te censebo.

1 Richardo Thomsoni] eidem *c-1638* 4 quid feci] *om. c-1709*

1 Casaubon sends: *Isaaci Casauboni Animadversionum in Athenaei Dipnosophistas libri XV. Opus nunc primum in lucem editum*, Lyon, apud Antonium de Harsy, excudebat Guichardus Iullieron, 1600. Thomson had asked for it in his letter to Casaubon of 22 July 1600. The copy which Casaubon sent survives: see John Glucker, 'A presentation copy of Casaubon's Athenaeus in Exeter Cathedral Library', *Pegasus*, 6, 1966, pp. 13–19. Thomson had still not received this copy by the beginning of December: it was with Denis Perrot in London: see Thomson to Perrot, 3 December 1600.

2 Τὸ καδδύναμιν, that is, τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν, 'what is in my power'.

3 ᾗ θέμις ἐστὶ, τοιοῦτον φίλον: 'as is fitting, this friendly deed'.

Quod scribis, te, si semel Lutetiam uxorem ac liberos produxero, ad nos advolaturum, serione, amabo, an ioco a te scriptum? Si ioco, cur me, cur uxorem, tui amantissimos, ludis? Si serio, quid moraris? En hic omnes quos petis adsumus, cupiditate tui videndi amplectendique incensi. Veni igitur, optime et amicissime virorum. Multa habeo quae in sinum tuum διὰ στόματος malim quam διὰ γραμμάτων.[4]

Gratissimum etiam quod spem facis notarum in *Epistolas ad Atticum*. Legi ante biennium librum illum cum cura et attentione: scire enim avebam quid tuus N. novi atulisset. Scis quam illum virum vel solo pietatis nomine venerer; ingenue tamen fatebor tibi πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, cum illius notas legerem, ipsum aliud egisse cum illa scriberet existimabam.[5] Nos quoque nescio quid in eo genere sumus meditati.[6]

Verum haec levia; maiora moliremur ad communem pii coetus utilitatem, si otium nacti essemus. Nunc ita incertus noster status, ita instabilis fortuna nostra, ut praeter rei familiaris curam nihil nobis videatur cogitandum: eo demum res nostrae rediere. O divinum plane virum Iosephum Scaligerum, quem quidem omnia multo ante praedicere memini quae nunc reapse experior; neque ego tam laeva unquam mente fui ut prudentissimi viri monita insuper haberem.[7] Sed quid agerem? Ardebam enim incredibili quodam desiderio

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4 Διὰ στόματος … διὰ γραμμάτων: 'in conversation … in a letter'. Thomson had promised to visit Casaubon in Paris at least twice: see Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 28 February 1600 and 22 July 1600. Thomson regretted that he would be unable to visit after all in his letter to Casaubon of 12 July 1601.

5 Πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν: 'the whole truth'. The name concealed in all three editions of this letter appears to be that of Franciscus Junius (1545–1602), and the book which Casaubon has read the following: *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum ad Atticum, libri XVI. Eiusdem Epistolarum ad Q. fratrem, libri III. Incerti auctoris Epistola ad Octavium, non est enim Ciceronis. T. Pomponii Attici vita, per Cornelium Nepotem. Dionysii Lambini emendatione, et recognitione nova Francisci Iunii Biturigis: cuius etiam notae accesserunt nunc primum editae*, [Heidelberg], e typographeio Hieronymi Commelini, 1594. In 1602, Casaubon wrote of his commentary: 'Multa ante hos sex septem annos in eos libros notavimus, multa etiam in Iunianis notis falsa deprehendimus …' (Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602). However, notes on Cicero are also mentioned by Johannes Woverius: see Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602.

6 Casaubon's notes on Cicero's letters to Atticus, nos 1–17, were first published long after his death: *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum libri XVI ad T. Pomponium Atticum, ex recensione Ioannis Georgii Graevii cum eiusdem animadversionibus, et notis integris Petri Victorii, Paulli Manutii, Leonardi Malhespinae, D. Lambini, Fulvii Ursini, Sim. Bosii, Fr. Iunii, Aus. Popmae, nec non selectis Sebast. Corradi, Is. Casauboni, Ioan. Fred. Gronovii, et aliorum*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, sumptibus Blaviorum, et Henrici Wetstenii, 1684.

7 Scaliger had advised Casaubon not to leave the tranquillity of Montpellier in 1599: see Scaliger

libellos nostros edendi, quod aliter fieri non poterat quam ut e Narbonensi Gallia exiremus. Verum ista quando iam mutari non queunt, missa faciamus. Deus enim profecto est, qui nutu suo naviculae nostrae clavum quo vult, dirigit, et quomodo vult, regit.

Polybianas et Suetonianas notas tuas scito me tandem accepisse.[8] Propositam a te quaestionem ante sex septem annos cum cura tractavimus Genevae, solemni promotionum publicarum die. Nosti morem. Quae tum nobis observata sunt, in adversariis habemus inter nostras chartas. Illae vero cum universa bibliotheca colligatae ad vecturam, nondum solutae sunt. Domum enim adhuc quaerimus, quae Musas nostras hospitio excipiat. Simul ac ἄνοικοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι esse desierimus, et libros revisemus, et voto tuo satisfaciemus.[9]

Vale, amicissime Thomson. Uxor et liberi plurimam tibi toto pectore salutem precantur. Iterum, vel potius μυριάκις, vale.[10]

Lutetiae Parisiorum, a. d. XII Kalend. Octobris M D C.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London] 3 December 1600

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 95r.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has received his manuscript of Photius, and letters from Casaubon and Scaliger. He apologises for not having written sooner, but he has been ill, and has not yet fully recovered. When he has learned to manage his condition, he will visit Perrot; but in the interim, he would very much like to receive Casaubon's Athenaeus.

8 adversariis] adversatiis *c-1656*

to Casaubon, 16 May 1599, in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 279–282.

8 For these notes on Polybius and Suetonius, see Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 1 March 1599, 28 February 1600 and 22 July 1600.

9 Ἄνοικοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι: 'houseless and homeless'. The Greek phrase occurs in a work edited by Casaubon: Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII.611B. Thomson had asked about the New World in his letter to Casaubon of 22 July 1600, a subject on which it appears that he had heard Casaubon's opinion while visiting Geneva in 1593. Casaubon's speech may be identified with the work 'An priscis novus orbis fuerit incognitus?', outlined from Casaubon's notes in J.C. Wolf, ed. *Casauboniana*, Hamburg, 1710, p. 51.

10 Μυριάκις: 'ten thousand times'.

Clarissimo viro Dionysio Perroto suo R. Thomson s.

Photium meum cum literis Casauboni et Scaligeri accepi, mi suavissime Perrote;[1] quo nomine multum me debere tibi fateor, sed plura quod silentium meum, et mutui officii intermissionem hanc, qua iam aliquot menses utor, sinistriorem in partem non sis interpretatus. Expectabam enim ut cum flagitio mecum ea de re expostulares, sed, ut scias, mi Dionysi, misera illa fuit in me non culpa. Febricula enim me habebat quam excepit mox gravior morbus, dolor scilicet ex renum calculo qui etiamnum de possessione mecum litigat. Adnitor itaque ut, quia furcillis non possum vi nec lege eiicere,[2] saltem meliora aliqua conditione cohabitare liceat; qua de re, ubi transactum erit, ecce ad vos advolo. Interim fave et, si ita occasio sese offeret, Casauboni Athenaeum quamprimum transmitte.[3] Nam si ipsa expectatione lenire dolorem meum potuit, quid fructus librum faciet?

Vale, mi Perrote, et me ama qui te aeternum.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. 3 Decembris 1600.

Thomson.

Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [Cambridge] 26 December 1600

PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 234, pp. 501–502.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 234, pp. 460–461.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 550–552.

9 furcillis] *correxi ex* exfurcillare *PBnF*

1 Thomson appears to refer to Casaubon to Thomson, 20 September 1600, and Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600, with which Thomson's copy of Photius' lexicon was returned. For the fortunes of this manuscript lexicon, see chapter 20, 'The Lexicon of Photius'.

2 The unfamiliar turn of phrase may have been corrupted by the copyist. Compare Scaliger's commentary on Festus, *s. v.* 'Furcilla': 'Furcillis movere, expellere, eiicere, et Latinis proverbialiter effertur, et Graecis ipsis …' (*Marci Verrii Flacci quae extant. Sex. Pompei Festi de verborum significatione libri XX, et in eos Iosephi Scaligeri Iul. Caesaris filii castigationes nunc primum publicatae*, 3 parts, [Geneva?], apud Petrum Santandreanum, 1574–1575, part 2, p. LXI).

3 Thomson owned a copy of Casaubon's Athenaeus, published in 1597. He was sent a copy of Casaubon's commentary on the work with Casaubon to Thomson, 20 September 1600. It seems that this copy has reached Perrot in London, but he has not yet found an opportunity to send it on to Thomson.

DATE: Dates in the Kalends of January are potentially ambiguous: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 1, p. lviii. The present letter could be of 1599 or 1600. The year of its composition is secured by the return of Thomson's manuscript of Photius' lexicon, for which, see Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600.
The letter is dated 'XVII Kal. Ianuarii Iuliani', or 16 December, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 26 December. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

TEXT: The edition of 1628 was set from that of 1627 and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

NOTE: Thomson seems to be in Cambridge: he wrote to Denis Perrot from Cambridge on 3 December 1600 and 16 June 1601.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger asks Thomson to confirm that he has received Photius' lexicon and the leaves of Poliziano. He has seen the catalogue of the books in Oxford and Cambridge. They could supply material for the history of France and for works against the Papacy and monasticism. The libraries also contain some unpublished Greek works, no doubt untouched by the college fellows. His edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon* is at an advanced stage. He has recovered from a serious illness.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Non dubito quin Photii lexicon et Politiani schediola, quae ego in epistolam conieceram ne deerrarent, tibi sint reddita.[1] Quamvis, inquam, non dubito quin omnia haec tibi reddita recte sint, tamen velim ex literis tuis scire an acceperis. Non enim animo prius conquiescam quam ex te ipso tibi reddita fuisse rescivero.

Catalogus ille scriptorum Oxoniensium et Cantabrigiensium librorum mirifice me affecit, praesertim quum videam multa in illis monumenta esse quibus res Gallicae et regni Francorum illustrari possint, et praeterea non minorem numerum eorum quibus tyrannis pontificia manifesto deprehendi possit, tum quae doceant quando cloacae illae et colluvies monachorum sese in Europam

5 prius] prorsus *s-1627, sed correxit in erratis*

1 The letter referred to here is Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600.

effuderint, ut Loiolitae hodie et Capuccini.[2] Habetis quoque Origenis in Celsum aliosque eximios Graecos nondum editos, quos parum vexari ab iis puto qui in illis collegiis degunt. A me certe non raro reviserentur, si ibi adessem.

Sed de *Chronico* Eusebii rursus tibi aurem vello,[3] nisi hoc inconciliarit studiis tuis.[4] Cum hac enim exceptione tecum agi velim. Ego iamdudum supremam manum illi libro imposui. Vere possum dicere me illum scriptorem ab inferis excitasse, quanquam propter insignia errata quibus saepius sese obligat indignus erat cui tantum studii impenderem. Sed antequam illum aggrederer, alium finem proposui quam meritum scriptoris. Tu videbis aliquando, et iudicabis.[5]

Quum ad te haec scriberem, motiunculis et horroribus quibus sub vesperam per octo dies tentari solebam ob κατάρρουν defunctus eram.[6] Videor omnino illa molestia liberatus diaeta et abstinendo a publico. Nemo est qui minus valetudinarius quam ego. Sed 'senectus ipsa morbus est'.[7]

Vale, mi Thomson.

XVII Kal. Ianuarii Iuliani, anno M D C.

2 James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600. Scaliger's copy of this catalogue appears in *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 20: 'Catalogus Bibliothecarum Academ. Angl. Lond. 1600'. Scaliger later remarked: 'Il y a de fort bons livres dans les bibliotheques d'Angleterre, et sur tout en histoire, qui ne sont pas imprimez. Ils en ont fait imprimer le catalogue, et en ont oublié, peut-estre, dix fois autant. Il y a deux universitez, en chacune une vingtaine de colleges. Chaque college a sa bibliotheque bien fournie .... Vidi Catalogum Oxoniensis bibliothecae: habet vulgares. Sunt Londini, Oxonii, Cantabrigiae praestantissimae bibliothecae, ut et Parisiis. Angli nunquam excuderunt bonos libros veteres, tantum vulgares' (Scaliger, *Secunda Scaligerana*, 1740, *s. v.* 'Biblioteca Florentina', pp. 236–237).

3 Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 640: 'aurem vellere'.

4 Scaliger had asked Thomson to collate a manuscript of Eusebius' *Chronicon* in connection with his forthcoming edition: see Thomson to Perrot, 27 August 1600.

5 Scaliger's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, printed as part of the *Thesaurus temporum*, would not be published until 1606.

6 Κατάρρουν: 'catarrh'.

7 Terence, *Phormio*, 575: 'senectus ipsast morbus'. Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 1537: 'ipsa senectus morbus est'.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London] 1601

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 95v.

DATE: The letter is *sine mense*. If one of the books which Thomson is attempting to acquire for Scaliger is Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* (מורה נבוכים), referred to in Scaliger to Thomson, 23 August 1601, then the present letter was probably written before August. Thomson anticipates a visit to London to acquire these books, and he was there in July: see Thomson to Casaubon, 12 July 1601. The present letter was thus very likely written in the first half of 1601.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson is grateful for Perrot's letters, sent with others from Scaliger and Casaubon. Perrot should forward the copy of Theophylact to Scaliger as soon as possible. English printers, a greedy bunch like all their kind, will not print the works which Perrot has. Thomson thinks highly of these works and will attempt to find a publisher. He will write to Scaliger soon. Scaliger wants books which Thomson cannot find in Cambridge, so his request must wait until Thomson visits London.

Clarissimo viro Dionysio Perroto suo R. Thomson s.

Ita tu nunquam de nobis bene mereri desinis, mi suavissime Perrote, qui tot iucundissimis literis tuis tam frequentes a Scaligero et Casaubono adiungis. Utinam aliqua aliquando redhostire possim. Theophylacti epistolas et quam primum potes Scaligero mittendas curabis;[1] si quod serio facis, utrumque nostrum amas. Avide enim expectat ipse proxime. Excusabo apud Scaligerum omnia.

De tuis illis optimis et sanctissimis libellis, ita est ut scribis.[2] Nostri sane hic typographi editionem eorum non audent. Nosti genus hoc hominum lucripetarum, quos frustra tentes, nisi dolosi spes refulserit nummi, et certa sane.[3] Itaque

1 It is unclear whether Thomson refers to a manuscript or to a printed edition, nor whether it is a copy of the letters of Theophylact of Simocatta (seventh century) or those of the archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid (d. 1107). The manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which Thomson wrote in his letter to Vulcanius of 5 August 1594, contained the letters of Theophylact of Ohrid. The letters were first published in Leiden after Scaliger's death: *Theophylacti archiepiscopi Bulgariae epistolae. Ioannes Meursius nunc primum e tenebris erutas edidit*, Leiden, 1617.

2 These 'libelli' have not been identified. From the context, they must have been in manuscript. No work corresponding to this description was published by Perrot.

3 Compare Persius, *Satires*, Prologue, 12: 'Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi …'.

tentabo alios. Valde enim interest reipublicae literariae, imo Christianae, illos in omnium manibus versari, scriptores mehercule pios et eruditos, quo nomine multum me tibi debere fateor, qui alterum saltem me nosse feceris. Valde delectatus sum eius libelli lectione.

Scaligero proxime respondebo. Iubet sibi libros aliquot comparari, quod hic aegre possum.[4] Itaque vere cogor id diferre in adventum meum Londinum.[5]

Vale, mi optime et mi suavissime Perrotte, ac me quod facis, ama.

Cantabrigiae, M D CI.

Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge] 18 January 1601

PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 1024, p. 595.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon has not heard from Thomson for some time. De Thuméry has informed him that his own letters to Thomson, and his gift, have arrived safely. Casaubon would like to have Thomson's notes on the *Augustan History*: he recently found a manuscript of the *History* in the Royal Library and intends to publish a new edition. His family send their regards.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Silentium istud tuum, amicorum dulcissime, qui interpreter, anceps animi haereo.[1] Quid enim accidit, cur tu post reditum meum in hanc urbem nullas ad me dederis?[2] Atqui et literas nostras et munusculum etiam quod misi ad te pervenisse, pene pro certo habeo.[3] Colligo enim ex literis amplissimi viri

6 vere] *forte PBnF*

4 One of the books which Scaliger wanted may have been Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* (מורה נבוכים): see Scaliger to Thomson, 23 August 1601.

5 Thomson was in London in July: see Thomson to Casaubon, 12 July 1601.

1 Thomson's most recent extant letter to Casaubon is dated 22 July 1600.

2 Casaubon had returned to Paris on 13 September 1600 n.s.: see Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 1, pp. 298–299.

3 The 'munusculum' appears to be a copy of Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus, a substantial volume. Thomson was sent a copy of this commentary, published in 1600, with Casaubon to Thomson, 20 September 1600, *q. v.* He had not yet received it in December 1600: see Thomson to Perrot, 3 December 1600.

qui legati munus isthic fungitur.[4] Scribe igitur, sodes, mi oculissime, et magna sollicitudine me liberaveris.[5]

Simul illud obnixe te oro atque obsecro ut notas in Spartianum et comites eius historicos, quarum non unis literis spem fecisti, quam primum mittas.[6] Nam cum ante aliquot dies in Regia Bibliotheca exemplar unum manuscriptum eorum scriptorum nactus essem, cepi illico illos recensendi atque edendi impetum;[7] resque eo iam adducta ut praela nostra nihil nisi tui beneficii expectatio remoretur. Quare iterum te, mi Thomson, oro, adiuves hac parte studia nostra. Plura non addam, neque enim vacat nunc, et si bene tuus mihi notus animus, ambitiosis apud te precibus non est opus.

Vale, et plurimum salve a me, ab uxore, a liberis, qui omnes tui videndi desiderio mirum in modum flagramus. Σοὶ δὲ Θεὸς τόσα δοίη ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς.[8]

Lutetiae Parisiorum, a. d. XV Kalend. Februarii M D CI.

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4 The 'legatus' is Jean de Thuméry, French ambassador in London. For his embassy, see P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV. Mission de Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise* (*1598–1602*), Paris, 1886. No letters between Casaubon and De Thuméry have come to light.

5 Thomson's next extant letter to Casaubon is dated 12 July 1601, from which it appears that he had recently written him an earlier letter, now lost.

6 Casaubon's edition of the *Augustan History* was published in 1603: *Historiae Augustae scriptores sex: Aelius Spartianus, Iulius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, et Flavius Vopiscus. Isaacus Casaubonus ex vett. libris recensuit; idemque librum adiecit emendationum ac notarum*, Paris, apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart, 1603. Thomson's notes have not come to light. He writes of relevant material collected in Italy which he has sent in his letter to Casaubon of 7 March 1602, and see also chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

7 Compare Casaubon's words in the *Prolegomena* to his edition: 'nacti enim manu exaratum codicem, quem ditissima Regis Christianissimi Bibliotheca nobis suggessit, ausi sumus repetere auspicia, moxque operi nos accinximus' (Casaubon (this letter, note 6), sig. iiv).

8 Σοὶ δὲ Θεὸς τόσα δοίη ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς: 'May God give you as much as you desire in your heart'. The final words are an Homeric echo: compare Homer, *Iliad*, XIV.264; *Odyssey*, II.34. Casaubon uses a similar turn of phrase in his letter to Thomson of 17 February 1597: 'Duit tibi ὁ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Θεὸς pro cumulo veterum tuorum erga me beneficiorum quicquid φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς'.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot (London) 16 June [1601]

AUTOGRAPH: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 97r.
COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 95r.
ADDRESS: To the worshipfull my very good frende / Mons Perott at My Lord the frenche Ambas- / sadors house in Bishopgate street / etc / In / London.
TEXT: The autograph and a copy of the present letter are bound together in Dupuy 699. The copy is faithful, which suggests that the other letters to Perrot, transcribed by the same hand, are reliable copies of the lost autographs.
DATE: The letter is *sine anno*. Thomson's first letter to Perrot in England was Thomson to Perrot, 13 February [1600]. Thomson's illness must be that mentioned in a letter of 12 September 1601 from Pierre Labbé to Scaliger: see chapter 19, 'Visitors to Cambridge'.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson was overtaken by a sudden illness while in the company of the Labbé brothers. He is not yet recovered, and is thus obliged to neglect the hospitality he owes the brothers for Scaliger's sake. With the present letter, he sends one for Scaliger, which he asks Perrot to forward.

Salve, mi Perotte, a Thomsono tuo non satis salvo. Nam ecce, quo die salutem a te mihi missam Labbaei fratres nunciant, ipsa me salus fugiit, et nequissima excepit febris, ipsis (proh pudor!) astantibus et mirantibus.[1] Quid agam? Hactenus certe illa me habet, et ne Labbaeis fratribus perfruar facit; quanquam maius hoc est quod quae officia praestare iis debeam propter I. Scaligerum ea omittere prorsus cogor. Itaque me excuso his literis apud Scaligerum, quas obsecro bene et fideliter cura, ut soles: mea enim magni interest ne pereant.[2]

Vale, mi Perotte, et febriculosum hoc scriptum agnosce.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. XVI Iunii.

8 agnosce] *sic PBnF 699, fol. 95r, PBnF 699, fol. 97r*

1 For this illness, see the headnotes to the present letter.

2 This letter from Thomson to Scaliger has not survived.

Thomson (London) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 12 July 1601

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 241r.
ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / À / Paris.
NOTE: This has a seal with a monogram: 'TSM'. From the reply, it appears that the present letter reached Casaubon in October 1601: see Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602.
SYNOPSIS: Perrot has doubtless forwarded Thomson's most recent letter to Casaubon. Thomson entrusted a collated copy of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* to the Labbé brothers for delivery to Casaubon. He understands that Casaubon is editing Suetonius and the later historians of the Empire. His own manuscript of Ammianus shows that the text of these historians needs work. Thomson commends the bearer of the present letter. Casaubon may easily guess why Thomson is unable to visit him in Paris. Thomson reminds him of his question concerning 'Peruvian gold'.

Clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono Richardus Thomson s. p.

Non ita pridem est, clarissime Casaubone, ex quo literas satis prolixas ad te dedi. Nihil dubito quin fideliter illas curarit Perottus noster.[1] Dedi Labbaeis fratribus Gallis *Epistolarum ad Atticum* exemplum, quod vir quidam doctus in Italia cum manuscripto contulerat.[2] Illud tibi tradere iussi. Tu ergo utere et fruere.[3] Audio te daturum nobis Suetonium auctiorem, comitatum inferioribus historicis.[4] Bene facies profecto. Sunt enim obscuri et corrupti valde auctores

6 te] *absc.* LBL

1 Thomson's letter to Casaubon, sent via Denis Perrot in London, has not survived.

2 The 'vir doctus' has not been identified. Thomson probably refers to a printed copy of the letters to Atticus which has been collated with an Italian manuscript. If so, it was probably not Junius' edition, since Thomson wrote that he has not seen Junius' edition in his letter to Casaubon of 7 March 1602. The copy of the letters arrived safely: see Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602.

3 For the Labbé brothers and Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, see chapter 19, 'Visitors to Cambridge'.

4 Casaubon had published an edition of Suetonius in 1595, and published further commentary material on the same author in 1596. At the time of the present letter he was working on an edition of the *Augustan History* which would be published in 1603. Casaubon published no edition of Ammianus Marcellinus.

illi. De Ammiano quid sentiendum sit, ex meo videre potes.[5] Plenus est rimarum et lacunarum quas difficulter expleveris. Valde laetabor si eius aliquis usus erit tibi.

Qui has fert, nobilissimus et doctissimus Gallus est, quo sane suaviter fructus sum Cantebrigiae. Ardet insano tui videndi amore, itaque literas has a me petiit. Tu illum et pro nostra amicitia et tua humanitate ita excipies ut tui amantissimus meret.[6] Cur non veniam Parisiis tute facile coniicere potes, non opus est tibi me interprete, sed neque lauro Phoebi.[7] Occasiones mihi omnes perscissae sunt, nisi Deus haec in melius vertat. Ergo excusabis hactenus. Nam quanto ego quoque amore tui, uxoris, liberorumque videndorum ardeam, ipsi qui literas tradent significare poterunt.[8]

Sed heus, mi optime et suavissime Casaubone, de auro Peruaim iterum aurem vello,[9] et quid in adversariis tuis habeas super illa re obsecro fac me certiorem.[10] Magno me beneficio affeceris, quod tibi non peribit.

Vale et vive. Suavissimae uxori liberisque salutem dico. Deus vos servet et felicitet.

Londino, a. d. IV Eid. Iulii 1601.

Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge] 16 July 1601

PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 236, pp. 504–507.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 236, pp. 463–465.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 13–15.

8 \tibi/ *LBL* 10 h[..]ipsi *absc. LBL* 15 ser[vet] *absc. LBL* 17 Londino] *sic LBL*

5 From the context, it is clear that 'ex meo' refers to a manuscript of Ammianus which Thomson owns. Thomson's manuscript has not been identified.

6 This French courier has not been identified.

7 Why Thomson could not visit Paris is uncertain. He had been there in 1599, and in 1606 he planned another trip to Paris to visit Casaubon.

8 An enthusiastic invitation to visit Casaubon and his family in Paris had been extended in Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 20 September 1600.

9 Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 640: 'aurem vellere'.

10 Thomson had asked Casaubon about this matter in Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600, *q. v.* Thomson asked Scaliger the same question: see Scaliger's letters to Thomson of 16 July and 23 August 1601.

DATE: The letter is dated 'Pridie Non. Iulii Iuliani', or 6 July, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 16 July. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

TEXT: The edition of 1628 was set from that of 1627 and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

NOTE: Thomson wrote to Isaac Casaubon from London on 12 July 1601, but Scaliger probably sent the present letter to Thomson's Cambridge address.

SYNOPSIS: The young man who will deliver this letter wants to leave soon. Scaliger thanks Thomson for the kindness he showed the Labbé brothers. 'Paruaim' is a place-name, a region now unknown, and certainly not to be identified with Peru. Montanus' explanation is absurd. The meaning of ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν βαπτίζονται is clarified by the definite article. In Paul's day, when someone died unbaptised the *paterfamilias* would repeat his baptism every year: he refers Thomson to Tertullian's *Against Marcion*. This practice survived until the time of Honorius; the Ethiopians retain it still and are baptised yearly. Paul uses their own actions to refute those who deny the resurrection, a strategy neatly described by Chrysostom. Scaliger regrets that his old friend interpreted the passage so foolishly.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Quamvis iste adolescens qui has tibi reddet in articulo me oppressit ut per eius properantiam longiores ad te dare non liceat, gratum est tamen quod invenerim cui recte meas dare possem;[1] ut saltem ultimas tuas, quibus adolescentes Labbaeos commendatione mea caros fuisse tibi significas, accepisse me certiorem te facerem.[2] Qua humanitate quod prosecutus eos fueris, quam non dubitabam tamen quin prolixe in eos explicares, vel eorum nomine, si tibi noti coepissent esse, vel meo, tametsi optima et lectissima eorum indoles ignota tibi esset, maximas tibi ago gratias.[3] Ego, mi Thomson, ita de te mihi persuasi ut nihil non a te quod in tua potestate situm sit impetrare me posse confidam.

1 This courier, not identified, is also noticed in Scaliger to Thomson, 23 August 1601.

2 This letter from Thomson to Scaliger has not survived.

3 For Charles and Pierre Labbé and their visit, see chapter 19, 'Visitors to Cambridge'.

Atque utinam iterum garrire quid tecum liceat! Per hunc non licet, qui tam repentino discessu suo omne officium nostrum interpellat.[4] Sed prolixius licebit alias. De זהב פרוים, non est quod crucem nobis ipsi figamus.[5] Constat quidem *Perwaim* esse nomen loci, ut et Ophir. Sed quis ille sit tractus, quae regio aurifera, frustra quandiu vivent literae quaeretur. Nam stultissimum est de Peru orbe novo, quod nomen ab Hispanis ipsis qui has aperuerint regiones impositum puto. Et si vetustum esse concedamus, tamen tam ignotum illis saeculis propheticis et patriarcharum fuit, quam memoria avorum nostrorum, priusquam illuc Hispana penetrasset avaritia. Anilem apud Ariam Montanum explicationem risi.[6]

Quamquam longe puerilius delirant qui illud ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν βαπτίζονται interpretantur.[7] Nam quoscumque videre mihi contingit, οὐδὲν ὑγιές.[8] Vide quid dicat ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν. Non dixit ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν. Nam tam differt quam ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν, et ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.[9] Christus suscitavit puellam et Lazarum.[10] Illa est ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν: est enim definitum, et constat de quibus sit intelligendum. At πιστεύω ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν dicimus,[11] quae universalis est

14 ἀνάστασις[2]] *correxi ex* ἀνάστασεις *s-1627*

4 This refers again to the courier.

5 2 Chronicles 3.6. Scaliger deals with this matter in similar terms in his letter to Thomson of 23 August 1601. The sentence means: '… there is no reason for us to worry'. For 'crucem figere alicui', 'to erect a cross for someone', see Cicero, *In Verrem*, II.5.6.12: '… quam damnatis crucem servis fixeras'.

6 Montanus was one of the editors of the Antwerp polyglot Bible, issued by the Plantin press in 1572. See B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)*, London, 1972. Thomson was planning to write on the New World, and this seems to have provoked his question to Scaliger: see Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 22 July 1600 and 12 July 1601.

7 Ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν βαπτίζονται: [which are] 'baptised for the dead' (1 Corinthians 15.29). A difficult and still disputed passage. This verse is treated at length in *Novum Iesu Christi Testamentum, cum notis Iosephi Scaligeri in loco aliquot difficiliores nunc primum editae*, Geneva, 1620, pp. 7–11. For a discussion of comments by Henricus Müller, Hugo Grotius and others, see Crenius, *Animadversiones*, 1695–1720, XVI (1708), pp. 78–85. Scaliger repeats the substance of his comments here in his letter to Thomson of 23 August 1601.

8 Οὐδὲν ὑγιές: literally, 'nothing sound'. The phrase is proverbial and common: see Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 738: 'nihil sanum'.

9 Ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν: 'resurrection of the dead' (1 Corinthians 15.42); ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν: 'resurrection of dead [people]'. Scaliger's argument is that the presence of the Greek definite article changes the meaning of the text.

10 For the raising of Jairus' daughter, see Mark 5.42; Matthew 9.25; Luke 8.55. For the raising of Lazarus, see John 11.1–44.

11 Πιστεύω ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν: strictly, 'I believe in a resurrection of dead [people]'. Scaliger

et non definita. Ridendus enim esset qui diceret πιστεύω ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν: de quibusdam enim accipiendum esset, non de omnibus.[12]

Ne aetate nostra ab ultima antiquitate in Ecclesiam errores irrepsisse miremur, ecce, et tempore Pauli stulti quidam erant qui et paganismi vestigia retinerent, sed et in Christianismo prave quaedam interpretarentur. Ut quum quis in familia ante baptismum discessisset, paterfamilias quotannis nomine eius baptismum iteraret; idque in occidente Kalendis Februarii, ut apud Tertullianum v in Marcionem habes.[13] Quae prava consuetudo infra Honorii Caesaris tempora duravit.[14] Certe hodie eam Abyssini retinent, qui baptismum die Epiphaniorum quotannis iterant.[15] Causam, ut sunt omnium rerum imperitissimi, ignorant, sed indubitata est ea causa. Nunc Apostolus dementiam eorum qui resurrectionem negabant ab eo ipso, quod prave facerent, exagitat. Si, inquit, quidam resurrectionem negant, quomodo pro mortuis in familia sua, in spem resurrectionis baptisantur, et tamen resurrectionem negant? Adversantur enim sibi. Contraria quippe sunt, resurrectionem negare, et in spem resurrectionis facere aliquid. Eleganter in hunc locum Chrysostomus: οὐ μικρὸν δὲ τοῦτο εἰς συνηγορίαν δικαίωμα, ὅταν τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας παραγάγῃ, δι' ὧν ποιοῦσι, τῶν λεγομένων.[16] Non probat stultum illum morem—qui enim hoc facere posset?—sed stultum illud factum ad probandum eos pugnantia sentire adducit, ut qui dicto negent resurrectionem, facto adstruant.

Haec procul dubio vera est interpretatio. Nam miseret me amici nostri venerandi senis, qui tam ridicule illum locum exponit.[17] Quid simplicius, quid verius

18 παραγάγῃ] παράγοι *s-1627, correxit in erratis*

uses the words of the *Symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum* (381 A.D.). H. Lietzmann, *Symbole der alten Kirche*, 5th edn, Berlin, 1961, p. 37.

12 Πιστεύω ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν: 'I believe in a resurrection of the dead'.

13 Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, v.10.

14 Honorius (A.D. 384–423), son of Theodosius I, ruled the Western Empire from 395.

15 For the Ethiopian celebration of Epiphany and baptism, see D. Levine, *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*, Chicago and London, 1965, p. 63.

16 'And it is no small argument for the defence when [the advocate] calls his opponents' own actions as witnesses of what he affirms'. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on 1 Corinthians*, no. 40, in J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*, 161 vols, Paris, 1857–1866, 61, p. 347.

17 Scaliger refers here to Theodorus Beza, who in his commentary on the New Testament included in his *Novum Testamentum* (3rd edn, Geneva, H. Estienne, 1588; 4th edn, *ibidem*, E. Vignon, 1598), had written at length on 1 Corinthians 15.29.

interpretatione ista? Ex vacillantibus apicibus meis properantiam meam vides. Alias meliora et opportuniora.

Vale, mi Thomson.

Pridie Non. Iulii Iuliani, Lugduni Batavorum, M D CI.

Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [London or Cambridge]

23 August 1601

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 897, fol. 234v.

PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 237, pp. 507–509.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 237, pp. 465–467.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 45–48.

DATE: The letter is dated 'Eid. Augusti Iuliani', or 13 August, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 23 August. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

TEXT: The copy in Paris has an observation extracted from this letter, *inc*: 'Mos veterum Christianorum …' *expl*. 'exagitat Tertull. etc. Ep. 236. 237'. This observation corresponds to the lines in the present letter 'mos hic diu … exagitat Tertullianus' (p. 263, lines 22–27). The reference to the letter numbers used in the printed editions shows that the copyist was using either the edition of 1627 or that of 1628. The edition of 1628 was set from that of 1627 and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger thanks Thomson for his letter and the Hebrew book. He sends him a list of the other Hebrew books he lacks. If Thomson can buy them, Scaliger will repay him via Raphelengius and Norton. It is not known to which place the 'Peruim' of the Bible corresponds. Montanus' explanation is laughable. Scaliger explains the meaning of a passage in Saint Paul, which refers to an ancient practice, discussed by Tertullian, of receiving baptism on behalf of dead family members. This practice cannot have arisen from a misunderstanding of Paul's words, since they postdate it.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Quanta laetitia me affecerint tuae, cum libro *More Hannevokim*, alio argumento quam epistola tibi probandum esset.[1] Scito igitur, pluris mihi esse librum quam si ἰσόμετρον χρυσοῦν misisses.[2] Sed dolet mihi te non habuisse indiculum a me unde scire posses quosnam Hebraeos desidero, et interea alios iniecisse manus in mercimonium. Quod si aliquid adhuc ex illa congerie superest, quod in indiculo quem tibi mitto reperias, oro te ut quocunque pretio illud mihi cures.[3] Ego statim pretium Raphelengio nostro dinumeravero, quocum et Northono mutua intercedunt commercia.[4] Itaque alterutri rem solvisse sat est. Ego nihil unquam aeris alieni reliquum in me residere patior.[5] Grabatulum meum semper me omni debito, ideoque et omni cura, solutum excipit.

De duobus illis locis uberrime tibi respondi.[6] Literas dedi Gallo qui operam theologiae hic dabat. Is rediens in Galliam ad vos transire voluit. Nam et

1 Thomson's letter is lost. The work he sent is Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* (מורה נבוכים). The book was written in Arabic, but translated by a contemporary of the author into Hebrew. Thomson may have sent Scaliger the Hebrew text printed in Venice in 1551, which is among the books Scaliger bequeathed to Leiden University Library. See Daniel Heinsius, *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Lugdunensis*, [Leiden, 1612], p. 79: 'More hannevochin. prima editio. Venetiis'; 'More hannevochin. Cum Commentariis'.

2 'Ισόμετρον χρυσοῦν: 'an equal measure of gold'. Denis Perrot, who seems to have forwarded the book to Scaliger, wrote to him on 1 December 1601: 'Le seul advis qu'aviez donné au Sieur Thomson de la reception du Rabbi estoit plus que suffisant pour m'en rendre asseuré sans qu'il vous pleust prendre ceste peine de m'en escrire. Je vous remercieray donc de ceste faveur d'autant plus affectueusement que je la recognois grande en mon endroict et outre mon merite' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 128–129).

3 This list has not survived. Scaliger's language suggests that Thomson's lost letter spoke of the sale of a collection of Hebrew books. Thomson wrote to Perrot from Cambridge on 8 December 1601: 'duos Scaligero libros Hebraicos comparavi, quos iam mitto. Quaeso te uti illos solita fide et diligentia ad Scaligerum cures ferendos. Valde enim ille et avide eos expectat'. See also Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 128–129.

4 Apparently Franciscus Raphelengius junior (d. 1643). 'Northonus' is probably Bonham Norton (1565–1635), a prominent member of the Stationers' Company. In 1605 he established, with his cousin John Norton (d. 1612), the *Officina Nortoniana* which specialised in scholarly books printed in London and on the continent. See D.L. Gants, 'Norton, Bonham (1565–1635)', ODNB, 2004, 41, pp. 156–158.

5 Compare similar protestations in Scaliger to the Dupuy brothers, 14 August 1601 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 21–24).

6 In Scaliger to Thomson, 16 July 1601.

isthic olim studuit, et te optime novit.[7] Dicebam 'Peruim' nomen loci Indiae orientalis esse; sed cui hodiernae appellationi conveniat, non magis nobis constare quam multa ἐθνικὰ in Bibliis, etiam Hierosolymis vicina, quae facilius esset explicare quam illa longinqua, quum tamen tam ignota nobis sint quam quae remotissima.[8] Idem de Ophir dicas. Certum est, tam illud quam Ophir ad orientem pertinere, cuius commercia ab ultima antiquitate ad hanc aetatem semper frequentata sunt. Nam cinnamomum, piper, et reliqua etiam vetustissimis nota fuerunt, quae non nisi ex oriente huc advehuntur. De Peru occidentali India, nugae. Puto Ariam Montanum illius ioculatoriae interpretationis auctorem esse. At illa veteribus et nostris quoque incognita ad id aevi quando primum Hispani eo penetraverunt. Praeterea nescio an Peru ab Indis potius quam a Christianis illa ingens continens vocata sit.[9]

De loco Pauli primum dicebam genus loquendi ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν cum articulo τῶν considerandum;[10] deinde morem priscae superstitionis, quamvis tempore Apostolorum, atque adeo vivente Paulo natae, subesse. Βαπτίζεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν est pro mortuis quibusdam baptizari; ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, pro omnibus mortuis. At nemo ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, sed ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν baptizabatur, pro quibusdam mortuis, qui in familia, antequam illis contigisset baptizari, decesserant. Quia enim dictum, 'qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit';[11] contrarium inferebant, 'qui non baptizatus fuerit, salvus non erit'. Ideo si quis in familia nondum baptizatus moreretur, paterfamilias pro eo quotannis baptizari se procurabat, et hoc modo satisfecisse se pro mortuo putabat. Mos hic diu apud superstitiosos quosdam, teste Tertulliano, duravit, isque quotannis Kalendis Februarii instaurabatur. Ecclesia Aethiopica hodie, si non morem eius, saltem retinet vestigia. Quotannis enim die Epiphaniae abluuntur, quae iteratio baptismi sine dubio ex illa superstitione propagata est. Valde superstitionem illam exagitat Tertullianus.[12]

Et tamen fallitur, qui ex prava loci illius Pauli interpretatione natam putat, quum contra locus Pauli posterior sit illo more; quod tam clarum est, quam puerile, si Tertullianum sequamur. Nam Apostolus, cum videret homines ne-

7 This courier, to whom Scaliger entrusted his letter to Thomson of 16 July 1601, has not been identified.

8 Ἐθνικά: 'peoples'.

9 Scaliger had dealt with this matter in similar terms in his letter to Thomson of 16 July 1601, *q. v.*

10 For further details on these comments on 1 Corinthians 15.29, see the notes to Scaliger to Thomson, 16 July 1601.

11 Mark 16.16, in the Vulgate translation.

12 Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, V.10.

gare resurrectionem, ex illorum facto eos, quamvis stultos, arguit: Negatis ullam esse resurrectionem. Quomodo ergo quidam inter vos in spem resurrectionis se pro mortuis quibusdam ut ipsi resurgentes salventur baptizari in familia curant, si resurrectio nulla est? Stultus est mos baptizari pro alio in spem resurrectionis; stultior opinio baptizari in spem resurrectionis, et tamen resurrectionem negare. Qui dicunt hunc morem tunc non fuisse, non solum adversus tenorem textus hoc dicunt (quo manifesto convincuntur) sed et inde, nisi interpretatione quae neque coelum neque terram tangit, extricare se non possunt.[13] At ex contextu, etiam caeco patet morem fuisse. Et praeterea fuisse morem Tertullianus ait. Vides ipsis Apostolicis temporibus superstitiones fuisse. Ne miremur multas inde usque in nostram aetatem radices egisse, ut pro partibus sacrae religionis admissae sint. Pro illis nempe hodie Papistae et Iesuitae insaniunt, et coelum terrae miscent.[14]

Vale.

Eid. Augusti Iuliani M D CI.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Denis Perrot [London] 8 December 1601

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 699, fol. 96r.
NOTE: This lacks its *salutatio* in the manuscript copy.
SYNOPSIS: Perrot has no doubt received the letter from Scaliger which Thomson forwarded. Perrot may entrust anything for Thomson to Boesius who is returning. Thomson sends two Hebrew books for Scaliger, and a letter for Casaubon: he asks Perrot to forward them. Is there any news of Perrot's departure?

Ecce iterum Thomsonus properis versibus te salutat, mi suavissime Perrote. Litteras Scaligeri pridem ad te misi, neque dubito quin acceperis, postquam id ille significavit qui tradidit tibi in manum.[1] Boesius noster brevi ad nos revertetur, quare te rogo uti per illum remittas, nisi non legeris.[2]

18 nos] *sic PBnF*

13 Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 444: 'neque coelum neque terram attingit'.

14 Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, IV.3.6: 'Quid tandem est, cur coelum ac terras misceant?' Compare Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 281: 'mare coelo miscere'.

1 No letters from Scaliger to Perrot have come to light. Thomson probably refers to his own letter to Scaliger sent via Perrot. If so, it has not survived.

2 'Boesius' has not been identified, unless he is John Bois, the Bible translator, or William

Ex eo tempore duos Scaligero libros Hebraicos comparavi, quos iam mitto.[3] Quaeso te uti illos solita fide et diligentia ad Scaligerum cures ferendos. Valde enim ille et avide eos expectat. Idem de iis ad Casaubonum facies, si me amas, quod certo scio.[4]

Vale, mi optime, mi suavissime Perrote. 5

Cantebrigiae, 8 Decembris 1601.

Tuus totus Rich. Thomson.

Ecquid de discessu vestro?[5]

Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge?] 13 January 1602

COPY: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 9, pp. 296–297.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 9, pp. 52–54.
PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 264, pp. 136–137.
TEXT: There are two copies of the present letter in the Oxford manuscript. The copy bound at pp. 296–297 is the earlier of the two. The Greek contractions and ligatures used by its scribe misled the scribe of the copy bound at pp. 52–54. This later scribe is also responsible for the copy in the same manuscript, pp. 102–103, of Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 4 February 1602, *q. v.* The Oxford manuscript supplied the editor of the edition of 1709 with the text of many letters from Casaubon's correspondence. A lost transcript of the second copy (pp. 52–54) appears to lie behind the text printed in 1709.

Boys, one of the Fellows of Clare Hall. For the former, see D. Norton, 'Bois, John (1561–1644)', ODNB, 2004, 6, pp. 450–452; for the latter, see [1600] 03 06, Fellows of Clare Hall to Cecil, and chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599'.

3 These Hebrew books have not been identified. They were probably part of the sale alluded to in Thomson's letter to Scaliger of 23 August 1601.

4 Neither Thomson's letter to Scaliger, nor that to Casaubon have survived.

5 Perrot was still in London on 1 December 1601, for he wrote a letter to Scaliger from there: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 128–129. He probably left England in the first weeks of 1602, for Casaubon wrote to Thomson on 4 February 1602: 'Scripsi raptim, et incerta spe, cum fama esset prope constans, Perrottum, qui tuas miserat, iam ex Anglia discessisse'.

NOTE: The present letter is a reply to Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 12 July 1601. Casaubon dated a letter to Henry Savile on the same day and they must have been sent by the same courier. In the letter to Savile, Casaubon writes: 'Egit mecum verbis tuis, Savili clarissime, nobilis Anglus amicus tuus, ut vellem ad te mittere catalogum omnium quae in Bibliotheca Regia servantur beati Chrysostomi operum' (Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 265, p. 137). This 'nobilis Anglus' does not appear to be Thomson.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon received Thomson's letter some months ago. He was looking for an opportunity to reply, but the ambassador set out sooner than Casaubon had expected. Fortunately Baudius will be able to make Casaubon's apologies to Thomson. Thomson's copy of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* is still with the Labbé brothers, but Casaubon hopes they will soon send it to Paris. Six or seven years ago he made notes on Cicero's works, and identified many errors in Junius' commentary. Junius' work on Cicero is, however, better than his work on Tertullian. Casaubon is thinking of composing a work against Junius' errors, which have exposed all Protestants to Catholic attacks. Casaubon's work on the *Augustan History* is at an advanced stage, although it will not be published at the spring book-fair. It should go some way to answering Thomson's question. Baudius may have told Thomson of Casaubon's other news. The terms of Casaubon's position in Paris are acceptable. His wife has recently recovered from a serious illness following childbirth. He asks Thomson to apologise to Downes for the delay in responding to his Greek letter.

Isaacus Casaubonus Richardo Thomsoni s. d.

Tertius, nec inficior, mensis agitur, amicissime Thomson, cum tuas mihi literas nobilis quidam Gallus reddidit.[1] Quibus dum uberius respondere cogito, et simul regii legati abitum praestolor, ecce tibi de improviso nuntius affertur mihi

1 Isaacus … s. d.] Richardo Thomsoni *c-1709* 3 \nobilis/ *OBL, pp. 52–54*

1 For this 'nobilis Gallus', not identified, see the letter to which the present letter is a reply, Thomson to Casaubon, 12 July 1601.

esse illum profectum, et itineri pridem accinctum, illud tandem ἐκ ἀπροσδοκήτου inchoasse.[2] Non facile dixerim, inopinatane ea res mihi acciderit magis an molestior: καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως δεινόν, tam bonam et certam occasionem, adeo praeter exspectationem, quasi de manibus esse mihi elapsam.[3] Adde quod te quoque diuturnioris iam silentii mei caussam desideraturum non nesciebam. In hoc igitur animi aestu unum illud fuit quod curam et dolorem (ita dico, dolorem) levaret meum: cum subiret animo isthic iam esse eruditissimum et utrique nostrum amicissimum Baudium, quem neglecti officii culpam omnem procul a nobis amoliturum confidebam.[4] Omnino sic persuasum habeo, si modo invicem conveneritis, nullo amplius aut patrono aut deprecatore apud te mihi esse opus. Cupiditatis siquidem meae dandi isthuc literas testis nobis locupletissimus ille idem, quem diximus, μουσικώτατος Baudius.[5] Sed ἀπολογίων tanquam δρυὸς ἄλις.[6]

De *Epistolis ad Atticum* ago tibi πλεῖστον ὅσον gratias.[7] Scito tamen haerere adhuc eum codicem in Labbaeorum manibus, necdum oculis nostris visum, nedum manibus tractatum. Sed mitttent, spero, brevi e patria, ubi tertium iam mensem agunt, reduces e peregrinatione sua.[8] Si cessaverint τὸ κατ᾽ αἶσαν

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1 accintum *OBL, pp. 52–54*, *OBL, pp. 296–297* ‖ tandem] tn *OBL, pp. 296–297*, tandem *i. m. alia manu* 2 ~~res~~ res *OBL, pp. 296–297* 4 expectationem *OBL, pp. 296–297* 5 causam *C-1709* 13 δρῶς \δρυὰς/ *OBL, pp. 52–54, corr. alia manu* δρυὰς *C-1709* 15 ~~illum~~ \eum/ *OBL, pp. 52–54*

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2 Ἐκ ἀπροσδοκήτου: ‘unexpectedly’. Casaubon refers to the new French ambassador to London, Christophe de Harlay, for whom see Casaubon to Thomson, 4 February 1602, note 18. He replaced Jean de Thuméry.

3 Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως δεινόν: ‘for it was a really terrible thing’.

4 In 1602, Dominicus Baudius went on a diplomatic mission to England. For his biography, see NNBW, 1911–1937, 6, cols 81–82; P.L.M. Grootens, *Dominic*us *Baudius. Een levensschets uit het Leidse humanistenmilieu 1561–1613*, Nijmegen, 1942; DBF, 1951, 5, cols 846–847.

5 Μουσικώτατος: ‘most harmonious’. Baudius was a poet.

6 ‘Sed ἀπολογίων tanquam δρυὸς ἄλις’: loosely, ‘but that’s enough apologising’. Compare Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, book 2, no. 19: ‘Dices fortasse, dignitatis ἄλις, tamquam δρυός’. Casaubon is about to talk about Cicero’s letters to Atticus and must have expected Thomson to catch the allusion. The phrase plays with the proverbial ‘δρυὸς ἄλις’, literally ‘enough of oak’, that is, ‘enough of former simple habits’. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 302, ‘satis quercus’: ‘Graecis in proverbio erat in eos qui e tenui conditione ad lautiorem vitam fuissent provecti. Inde sumptum quod prisci illi et primi mortalium, simul atque frumenti usus esset repertus, glandibus victitare desierint’.

7 Πλεῖστον ὅσον: ‘the greatest possible’. Thomson had sent a printed edition of Cicero’s letters, collated with a number of manuscripts by an unidentified Italian scholar: see Thomson to Casaubon, 12 July 1601.

8 For the Labbé brothers and Cicero’s *Letters to Atticus*, see chapter 19, ‘Visitors to Cambridge’.

exequi, non cessabo ego certiorem te facere, duntaxat ut sui illos officii comiter moneas. Multa ante hos sex septem annos in eos libros notavimus, multa etiam in Iunianis notis falsa deprehendimus, de quibus ex veritate illud possum dicere, ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων κατέγνων.[9] Tuam fidem, vir eruditissime, hoccine est corrigere libros an corrumpere? Et tamen ista, cuicuimodi sunt, prae notis in Cypriani magistrum, laudem fortasse mereantur, adeo vir ille δαιμόνιος in illum infelicem Afrum est grassatus.[10] Itaque aegre contineo me quin eruditum virum τυφομανίας νόσῳ πρόφαντον ἑαλωκότα pro commerita noxa publico scripto castigem.[11] Si vidisti Iesuitae nescio cuius contra illas notas, aliaque eiusdem scripta diatribas, inceptum meum, scio, laudabis.[12] Quam enim turpe, nobis unius ob noxam Calvinistas omnes (sic passim impurae illi bestiae vocamur) acriter adeo et acerbe vapulare? Et tamen quotam iste partem attingit

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1 te certiorem *OBL, pp. 52–54*, *C-1709* 3 etiam] item *OBL, pp. 52–54*, *OBL, pp. 296–297* 5 cui~~us~~\cui/modi *OBL, pp. 52–54* 7 infoelicem *OBL, pp. 52–54* 8 τυφομανί\ας/ *OBL, pp. 52–54* ‖ πρόφαντον] πρόφανδον *OBL, pp. 52–54*, *OBL, pp. 296–297* ‖ ἑαλωκό\τα/ *OBL, pp. 52–54* ἑαυλωκότα *C-1709* ‖ ~~pro~~ \pro/ *OBL, pp. 52–54, corr. alia manu*

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9 Ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων κατέγνων: 'I read, I understood, I condemned'. The Greek phrase is attributed to the Emperor Julian in Sozomen's continuation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, v.18. Casaubon refers to the edition of Franciscus Junius (1545–1602): *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum ad Atticum, libri XVI. Eiusdem Epistolarum ad Q. fratrem, libri III. Incerti auctoris Epistola ad Octavium, non est enim Ciceronis. T. Pomponii Attici vita, per Cornelium Nepotem. Dionysii Lambini emendatione, et recognitione nova Francisci Iunii Biturigis: cuius etiam notae accesserunt nunc primum editae*, [Heidelberg], e typographeio Hieronymi Commelini, 1594. Junius' edition seems to be the one criticised in Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 20 September 1600.

10 Δαιμόνιος: 'marvellous'. The 'Afrus' is Tertullian (d. c. 220 A.D.), who taught Cyprian (d. 258), later bishop of Carthage. Junius had published an edition a few years earlier: *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Carthaginiensis presbyteri, auctoris antiquissimi Opera quae adhuc reperiri potuerunt omnia*, Franeker, excudebat Aegidius Radaeus, 1597.

11 'Virum τυφομανίας νόσῳ πρόφαντον ἑαλωκότα': 'a famous man in the grip of a disease of blind frenzy'. Casaubon moves into Greek to cloak his criticism, but the words seem not to be an allusion to any Greek author. The word ἑαλωκότα is the accusative singular of the perfect participle of ἁλίσκομαι, 'I am seized'. The reading of the edition of 1709 is an error.

12 Casaubon forgets the name of Jacob Gretser (1562–1625): *Iacobi Gretseri Societatis Iesu theologi libri duo: De modo agendi Iesuitarum cum pontificibus, praelatis, principibus, populo, iuventute, et inter se mutuo; Oppositi eiusdem argumenti libello anonymo et famoso. Accessit vindicatio locorum quorundam Tertullianicorum a perversis Francisci Iunii Calvinistae depravationibus*, Ingolstadt, ex typographia Adami Sartorii, 1600.

Iunianorum peccatorum?[13] Si absim a te propius, utar in hac re consilio tuo lubentissime. Nam plane mihi ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας μὲν οὐχί, Θεὸς δ᾽ ἐπιμάρτυρος ἔστω, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ φιλαληθείας manus pruriunt.[14]

Verum de his alias. Nunc enim in *Historiae Augustae* scriptoribus et animo et corpore sum totus. Id opus ea spe ante menses aliquot praelis subiectum, ut proximo mercatu Francofurtum deferretur; nihil iam praeter notas meas moratur. Sed neque per occupationum assiduitatem, neque per operis difficultatem tam cito ea opera licebit defungi.[15] Quid hic praestiterimus, malo te ex lectione quam commendatione mea cognoscere. Habes ibi ὁδοῦ πάρεργον de proposita a te quaestione super navigationis Indicis iudicium nostrum.[16]

Caetera de meis rebus, si Baudium vidisti, te non ignorare existimo. Ἐνὶ λόγῳ, si res in deterius non verterint (ὁ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδ᾽ ἔσται), cur nos praesentis conditionis poeniteat aut pigeat, nihil video esse caussae.[17] Quod superest in dies vivimus, et τῷ πανοικτίρμονι Θεῷ nosque et nostros affectus animo aequissimo permittimus.[18] Illius beneficio immortali (si quid hoc ad curam tuam pertinet) servata mihi superioribus diebus ἡ ἐπιπόθητος coniux, cum illam

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2 ἐπιμ\ά/ρτυρος *OBL, pp. 52–54* 3 φιλαληθεί\ας/ *OBL, pp. 52–54* 4 enim] autem *C-1709* 8 ~~in~~ ea *OBL, pp. 52–54* ‖ licebit] licet *C-1709* 12 μὴ] ~~μὴ~~ μὴ *OBL, pp. 296–297* 13 causae *C-1709* 15 ~~pro~~\per/mittimus *OBL, pp. 52–54* 16 coniunx *OBL, pp. 52–54*, *OBL, pp. 296–297*

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13 Casaubon may be alluding to another work of Junius: *De peccato primo Adami: et genere causae qua ad peccandum adductus est*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595.

14 Ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας μὲν οὐχί, Θεὸς δ᾽ ἐπιμάρτυρος ἔστω, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ φιλαληθείας: 'not at all out of a love of honour, may God be my witness, but from a love truth'. Compare Homer, *Iliad*, VII.76: Ζεῦς δ᾽ ἐπιμάρτυρος ἔστω.

15 Casaubon's edition of the *Augustan History* was published the following year: *Historiae Augustae scriptores sex: Aelius Spartianus, Iulius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, et Flavius Vopiscus. Isaacus Casaubonus ex vett. libris recensuit; idemque librum adiecit emendationum ac notarum*, Paris, apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart, 1603.

16 Casaubon speaks of a question from Thomson which he was temporarily unable to answer in his letter to Thomson of 20 September 1600. Casaubon writes of the voyages of the ancient Romans in eastern seas in his commentary on Flavius Vopiscus, *Firmus*, 3 (Casaubon, ed. *Historiae Augustae scriptores*, Paris, Ambrosius et Hieronymus Drouart, 1603, part 2 (notes), p. 549). For ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, 'a secondary purpose of my journey', compare Euripides, *Electra*, 509. It is a favourite phrase of Casaubon's, and is used twice in Cicero's letters, *Ad Atticum*, V.21.13; VII.1.5.

17 Ἐνὶ λόγῳ: 'in a word', 'in short'. Ὁ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδ᾽ ἔσται: 'which may it not happen, as indeed it will not', 'which God forbid should happen'.

18 Τῷ πανοικτίρμονι Θεῷ: 'to the all-merciful God'.

recentem a filioli partu πλευρίτις octavo ab hinc die occupasset, atque ipsis prope iam ἅιδου πύλῃ admovisset.[19]

Vale, amicissime καὶ τιμιώτατε Thomson.[20]

Lutetiae Parisiorum, Id. Ianuarii M D CII.

Accepi non ita dudum a Dunaeo epistolam Graecam, suavissime iuxta atque amantissime, planeque Ἀττικώτατα scriptam.[21] Tanta autem indiligentia fuit illius cui ea fuerat commissa ut vix post quartum, opinor, mensem quam literae scriptae fuerant, eas mihi reddiderit. Iis respondere impraesentiarum cum non possimus, obruti curis et negotiis, peto a te obnixe ut a doctissimo viro, et Graecarum elegantiarum patre, brevis temporis moram mihi impetres.[22] Velim sit hoc tibi curae. Vale tu, mea cura.

Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge?] 4 February 1602

COPY: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 9, p. 214.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 9, pp. 102–103.
PRINT: Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 268, p. 139.
TEXT: There are two manuscript copies of the present letter in the same Oxford manuscript. The copy on p. 214 is the earlier of the two. It was corrected by Casaubon himself, who identified the recipient, supplied a missing word in the margin, and added a marginal exclamation about the work of Marcilius.
This early copy of the letter was used to make the second copy, pp. 102–103. The name 'Dunaeum' in the earlier manuscript

4 Id.] Eid. *OBL, pp. 52–54*, *OBL, pp. 296–297* 6 \in/diligentia *OBL, pp. 52–54* ‖ fuit indiligentia *OBL, pp. 52–54*, *C-1709*

19 Ἐπιπόθητος: 'much-desired'. Πλευρίτις: 'a pleurisy'. Ἅιδου πύλῃ: 'to the gate of Hades'. For ἅιδου πύλαι, see, for example, Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1291. The phrase is also used in Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 4 February 1602. The illness and recovery of Casaubon's wife Florence are recorded in his diary: Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 1, pp. 393–395.

20 Καὶ τιμιώτατε: 'and most honoured'.

21 Ἀττικώτατα: 'in most Attic Greek'. Attic was the most prestigious of the Greek literary dialects.

22 Casaubon wrote this reply in Greek to Andrew Downes ('Dunaeus') in London on 27 March 1602: see Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 1027, pp. 597–598. Thomson had known Downes since at least 1592: see chapter 5, 'England, 1591–May 1592'.

was mistaken for 'Dundum' by the later scribe. This later scribe also made the copy in the same manuscript, pp. 52–54, of Casaubon's letter to Thomson of 13 January 1602, *q. v.*

The Oxford manuscript supplied the editor of the edition of 1709 with the text of many letters from Casaubon's correspondence, and a lost transcript of the copy on pp. 102–103 appears to lie behind the text printed in 1709.

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon apologises for not writing sooner. He has been busy with unimportant but necessary affairs, and a stream of importunate visitors. The works which Casaubon mentioned in passing in his commentary on Athenaeus are kept among his private papers, and may one day be published. They include *De re vestiaria*, a portion of which, *De coloribus*, he intends to publish separately. Casaubon shares Thomson's low regard for the latest commentator on Persius. Ten years ago Casaubon wrote his own commentary on Persius, and may do something with it. He is now working on the *Augustan History*, and would like the opinions of Thomson and others on it. When it is finished, he will turn to other projects. His wife has recovered from a serious illness following childbirth, and sends her regards. Casaubon addressed his package of letters to Perrot, but he hears that Perrot has now left England, and Baudius may not yet have arrived there. The new ambassador will provide a secure channel for their correspondence. Casaubon will soon write to the ambassador, and to Downes.

Amicissime vir,

Per ego te τὸν φίλιον θεὸν oro, ne propter diuturnius silentium succensere mihi velis.[1] Liquido affirmo tibi, neminem hominum multos iam menses impediti-
orem curis aut molestis saepe negotiis quam Isaacum tuum vixisse. Neque tu propterea putes magnum aliquid moliri me in hac aula, aut aliquod a Prin- 5
cipe beneficium captare. Nugae sunt quae me occupant, et officia amicorum ac mutuae plerumque ἐπισκέψεις, quas praetermittere οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι

1 Richardo Thomsoni *i. m.* OBL, *p. 214, manu Casauboni*

1 'Per … τὸν φίλιον θεόν': 'by the god of friendship'. Casaubon had written to Thomson at some length a few weeks earlier with a similar apology: see Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602.

πάντως οὐ θεμιτόν.[2] Itaque sic fere hactenus viximus: ubi illuxit, patent fores, veniunt amici—si tamen amici sunt dicendi, qui studiis meis tantam afferunt perniciem—alius officii caussa, alius ambitiosis precibus a me contendens ut vel magno Thuano, vel alicui alii procerum nostrorum quos velut maiorum gentium deos colunt, suam caussam commendem. Quid facerem? Nondum enim frontem potui obdurare, et serio memet mihi et studiis meis vindicare. Verum enimvero, ὦ τάν, ἔχε θυμὸν ἀγαθόν.[3] Nam certum est mores mutare et omnes procul amandare qui mecum alia de re quam de literis sint acturi. Tum igitur, amicissime Thomson, ero tuus, cum fuero meus; tum vacabo tibi, cum et mihi; et frequentes et longas feres tum a nobis epistolas. Nunc ista pauca raptim, et horis quidem matutinis, quas scis esse Musis sacras.

Quod me ad libellorum editionem hortaris, de quibus obiter ad Athenaeum, scito, doctissime Thomson, καὶ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κάτθεο σῆσι, non per inanem iactantiam illa nobis promissa, sed quia aut affecta, aut prope iam confecta penes nos, hoc est, in liturariis nostris ea habemus.[4] Sed ad publicationem illorum non hoc est satis. Nolumus enim, si ulla σπουδῇ καὶ μηχανῇ possumus, ἀφειδεῖν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων.[5] *De re vestiaria* opus ingens in manibus habemus. Pars eius liber est *De coloribus*, quem tamen separatim animus est edere.[6] Qui tuus est in nos amor, si acumen non laudabis, diligentiam tamen amabis in tam subtili argumento. Habemus item alia multa, olim, si Deus optimus maximus voluerit,

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3 causa *c-1709* 5 causam *c-1709* 9 vacabo] vocabo *c-1709* 14 ~~per~~\pro/missa *OBL, pp. 102–103* 18 liber] libri *c-1709* 20 voluerit] *om. OBL, p. 214, add. i. m. manu Casauboni*

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2 Ἐπισκέψεις: 'visits'. Οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι πάντως οὐ θεμιτόν: loosely, 'would be entirely improper under present circumstances'. Compare Homer, *Iliad*, 5.304: οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν, 'such as mortals now are'.

3 Ὦ τάν, ἔχε θυμὸν ἀγαθόν: 'my friend, be of good heart'. For the Greek phrase, see Herodotus, *Histories*, I.120; III.85; Cassius Dio, *Roman Histories*, LI.12. Compare also Herodotus, *Histories*, VII.52; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, III.4.10.

4 Καὶ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κάτθεο σῆσι: 'and store up in your heart'. Compare Homer, *Odyssey*, XI.455: σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσι. For the minor works noticed here, recorded by Thomson in his copy of Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus, see chapter 17, 'Reading Casaubon on Athenaeus'.

5 'Ulla σπουδῇ καὶ μηχανῇ': 'by any effort or device', echoing Polybius, *Histories*, I.18.11. Ἀφειδεῖν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων: 'to neglect the readers'.

6 These two works are recorded by Meric Casaubon: *Pietas contra maledicos patrii nominis, et religionis hostes*, London, ex Officina Bibliopolarum, 1621, p. 161. Neither was published. A substantial collection of notes for Casaubon's *De re vestiaria* survive in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. no. 8 (3954). A smaller collection of notes is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. no. 29 (3966i), item 5d.

edenda; sin minus, nobiscum sepelienda. Illud διαρρήδην praedico tibi, temere nihil editurum me, nisi vis quaedam maior coegerit.[7]

De novo Persii interprete assentior tibi.[8] Impurus ludimagister, κενεῆς οἰήσιος ἔμπλεος ἀσκός, doctissimum se mortalium et putat, et praedicat.[9] Caeteri prae ipso fungi, bardi, bestiae denique, et vix λογικὰ ζῶα.[10] Soleo dicere, nequissimum plagiarium uno beatum, quod stomacho meo sit indignus. Nam si mereretur, et omnia illius essent tanti, non ferret inultum quod in me, quod in magnum Scaligerum, et item magnum Cuiacium (ut alios taceam) est ausus.[11] Scis, opinor, ante decem annos exactissimae diligentiae commentarium scriptum nobis in eum poetam. Eo quid facturi sumus, viderimus.[12] Iste quidem nebulo observatiunculas nostras non praeripuit nobis; quas tamen aspernari et facere non tanti, magis magisque in dies assuescimus.

Nunc in Spartiano etc. sumus, de quo opere quid tu, quid docti gentis tuae iudicaturi sitis, aveo iam scire. Sed mensibus adhuc aliquot nobis opus.[13] Ea

3 De … tibi] O bene tecum Marsili *i. m. OBL, p. 214, manu Casauboni* ‖ Persii] ~~Polybii~~ \Persii/ *OBL, p. 214* ‖ assentior tibi] tibi assentior *C-1709* 13 ~~ipse~~ opere *OBL, pp. 102–103*

7 Διαρρήδην: 'explicitly'. At this point, the scribe of the Oxford manuscript mistakenly copied and then deleted almost all of the penultimate paragraph, 'Nunc in Spartiano … amantissime te'.

8 The 'interpres' is Theodorus Marcilius: *Auli Persii Flacci Satyrae: cum antiquissimis commentariis qui Cornuto tribuuntur, collatis cum veteribus membranis et auctis. Eliae Vineti praefatio et annotationes in easdem. P. Pithoei IC variae lectiones et notae ad veteres glossas. Theodori Marcilii professoris eloquentiae regii Emendationes et commentarius. Ioannis Tornorupaei Notulae*, Paris, apud Claudium Morellum, 1601. At this point, in the margin of the second Oxford copy of the present letter (Bodleian Library, Casaubon 9, p. 214), Casaubon has written 'O bene tecum Marsili!'.

9 Κενεῆς οἰήσιος ἔμπλεος ἀσκός: 'a wineskin filled with an empty opinion'. The phrase is from the satirical *Σίλλοι* of Timon of Phlius (d. 230 B.C.), preserved in Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 466), *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, II.20.

10 Λογικὰ ζῶα: 'rational beings', for which see Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, XIV.1. For 'fungi, bardi', see Plautus, *Bacchides*, 1086.

11 For the eminent jurist Jacques Cujas (1522–1590), see J.P. Masson, *Iacobi Cuiacii iureconsulti vita*, Paris, 1590; E. Spangenberg, *Jacob Cujas and seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1822.

12 The commentary was published in 1605: *Auli Persii Flacci Satirarum liber. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, et commentario libro illustravit. Ad virum amplissimum D. Achillem Harlaeum senatus principem*, Paris, apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart, 1605.

13 Casaubon's edition of the *Augustan History* was published the following year: *Historiae Augustae scriptores sex: Aelius Spartianus, Iulius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, et Flavius Vopiscus. Isaacus Casaubonus ex vett. libris recensuit; idemque librum adiecit emendationum ac notarum*, Paris, apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart, 1603.

cura defuncti, aliud agemus, Θεοῦ γε διδόντος, cui volo te, amicissime Thomson, pro restituta mihi uxore ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῦ ᾅδου πυλῶν, et acutissimis πλευρίτιδος mox a partu doloribus, gratias mecum agere.[14] Illa mecum amantissime te salutat.[15]

Vale, meus amor. Scripsi raptim, et incerta spe, cum fama esset prope constans Perrottum, qui tuas miserat, iam ex Anglia discessisse.[16] Illi tamen fasciculum inscripsimus, cum nesciremus an Baudius noster adhuc isthic esset.[17] Velim amplissimo legato, qui recens isthuc venit, innotescas, ut per illum nostris literis ultro citroque tuta praestetur via.[18] Et ad illum, et ad doctissimum Dunaeum, paucis diebus scripturi eramus.[19] Iterum vale.

Lutetiae Parisiorum, Pridie Non. Februarii M D CII.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 7 March 1602

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 242r–v.
ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / À / Paris.
NOTE: The envelope is London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 243r–v.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson was delighted to receive two letters from Casaubon. Scaliger and Casaubon alone defend literature from a host of critics. Thomson agrees with Casaubon about the editor of Ter-

8 doctissimum] ~~am~~ doctissimum *OBL, p. 214* 9 Dund\ae/um *OBL, pp. 102–103*

14 Θεοῦ γε διδόντος: 'God willing'. Ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῦ ᾅδου πυλῶν: 'from the very gates of Hades'. Πλευρίτιδος: 'of a pleurisy'. For ἅιδου πύλαι, see, for example, Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1291. A similar turn of phrase is used in Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602.

15 The illness and recovery of Casaubon's wife Florence is mentioned in Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602. The episode is recorded in his diary: Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 1, pp. 393–395.

16 Denis Perrot, in London, had provided Thomson with a reliable channel for sending letters to Paris.

17 For Dominicus Baudius in England, see Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602.

18 The new French ambassador was Christophe de Harlay (c. 1570–1615). The ambassador had arrived in England in January 1602. For his embassy, see P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV: Mission de Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont (1602–1605)*, 2 vols, Paris, 1895. He replaced Jean de Thuméry. Christophe was the son of Achille de Harlay (1536–1616), to whom Casaubon dedicated his edition of Persius in 1605.

19 Casaubon had promised to write to Andrew Downes ('Dunaeus') in his letter to Thomson of 13 January 1602. He wrote this Greek letter to Downes on 27 March 1602: see Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 1027, pp. 597–598.

tullian, but the man will not listen to friendly advice. Casaubon should certainly press ahead with his project, for Scaliger is otherwise engaged. Thomson has not seen Junius' notes on Cicero's letters to Atticus. He will write to the Labbé brothers to remind them to deliver the book. He looks forward to Casaubon's edition of the *Augustan History* and hopes that the material he sent may prove useful. Casaubon should publish his *De re vestiaria*. Thomson would be glad to see young Jean compose something on Persius to silence the impudent critic. Thomson has intervened to prevent the publication of Casaubon's notes on the New Testament, but would like him to publish these notes, or at least share them with his friends. Thomson is now involved in theological studies. He thanks God for the recovery of Casaubon's wife, and urges Casaubon to look after his own health.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono Richardus Thomson s. p.

Binas a te literas accepi, clarissime vir, quae longum illud silentium tuum plane compensarunt.[1] Ex animo gavisus sum cum eas vidi. Nam post varias errores demum ad me perlatae sunt,[2] et quod scire valde cupiebam, significarunt mihi: de studiis, inquam, tuis et valetudine, pro qua sollicitus saepe Deum veneratus sum. Equidem ita semper existimabo in te et Scaligero spem et rationem bonarum literarum sitam esse. Soli enim reliqui estis ex paucis illis, qui suo, non alieno, pectore sapiunt.[3] Vides rutubam hanc criticorum quotidie provenientium, et rides, sat scio, etiam quandoque indignaris. Sed quid facias, vir praestantissime, ubi haec prurigo curari non potest? Saltem utinam quis modum illi imponere posset, ne latius serpendo etiam sacra nostra pertentaret.

Iustissima est querela tua de Tertulliano deturpato ab illo nostro etc.[4] Ringimur multi, et factam a nobis amolimur. Sed ille adeo caudex est, ut quid tu, quid Scaliger, quid alii dicant, non dicant, assis non faciat. Putat invidiae potius stimulos esse quam verae indignationis. Scio quid admonitus responderit qui-

1 Thomson has received Casaubon's letters of 13 January and 4 February 1602.

2 The final line of the present letter—'Cantebrigiae (non Oxonii)'—may indicate that Casaubon had mistakenly sent his previous letter to Thomson at Oxford, and that from there it had been forwarded to him in Cambridge.

3 Compare Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 1253: 'solus sapit'.

4 'Ille noster' is Franciscus Junius, who published an edition of Tertullian's *De pallio* in 1595, and an edition of the complete works in 1597.

busdam amicorum. Exoriare aliquis veterum de sanguine qui audaciam hanc castiget serio![5] Utinam ego propius a te absim![6] Profecto aut hoc ageres, aut nihil ageres. Nam Scaliger alio mentem divertit. Scio tamen illa valde prurire manus in hanc vindictam.

Notas illius ad Atticum videre hactenus non contigit, sed facile coniicio quae et quales sint, ita ut desiderium illarum non aegre feram.[7] Scribam proxime ad Labbaeos fratres, et officii sui comiter monebo.[8] Quid in *Augusta historia* praestiteris avide exspecto videre.[9] Nam profecto nisi ab Hercule, stabulum hoc expurgari non potest. Utinam aliquid adtulerint tibi adiumenti illi libri quos ad te misi! Nam ea fine ex Italia mecum exportavi.[10]

De re vestiaria pridem multa praeclara abs te adnotata vidi in liturariis tuis olim.[11] Bene ergo nunc facies, si edas tam varium, tam eruditum opus, quod doctis et bonis omnibus gratissimum erit, solis bestiis illis et ludi magistris cordolium faciet. Quam vellem Iohannem tuum reptantem iam videre in tuis literis, et paternae indolis specimen dare in Persio! Nequaquam hoc vel tibi, vel illi, fraudi esse Deus siverit. Puto iam 15 circiter annum agere, quos sub tale praeceptore et patre facile ita impendere potuit, ut ludi magistro illi plagiario pudorem imponat, faventibus Musis et doctis omnibus.[12]

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13 et[2]] \et/ *LBL*

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5 Compare Vergil, *Aeneid*, IV.625: 'exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor'.

6 Compare Casaubon to Thomson, 13 January 1602: 'Si absim a te propius, utar in hac re consilio tuo lubentissime'.

7 Thomson refers to the work of Franciscus Junius on Cicero's letters to Atticus.

8 No letter from Thomson to the brothers Charles and Pierre Labbé has come to light. He intends to write regarding a copy of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*: see chapter 19, 'Visitors to Cambridge'.

9 Casaubon's edition was published the following year: *Historiae Augustae scriptores sex: Aelius Spartianus, Iulius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, et Flavius Vopiscus. Isaacus Casaubonus ex vett. libris recensuit; idemque librum adiecit emendationum ac notarum*, Paris, apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart, 1603.

10 The books which Thomson sent to Casaubon have not been identified. For Thomson's work on the *Augustan History* in Italy, see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

11 This work was mentioned in Casaubon to Thomson, 4 February 1602. It was never published, but a substantial collection of notes for the work survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. no. 8 (3954), and a smaller collection of notes is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. no. 29 (3966i), item 5d. Thomson may have inspected these notes in Geneva.

12 The 'plagiarius' is Theodorus Marcilius, Regius Professor of eloquence in Paris. Casaubon's eldest son Jean, born 12 October 1590, was eleven at the time of writing: see the document

Notae tuae in Testamentum Novum hic apud nos edendae erant.[13] Sed impedii conatum typographi apud academiae nostrae Procancellarium. Nesciebam enim nunquid id tu probaturus esses.[14] Si quid a me profectum est hac in parte, id mihi tamen imputare non potes, qui amico in te animo, et tuarum rerum sollicito videri debeo peccasse. Benigne tamen faceres, si quae praeclara habes in adversariis tuis ad Novam Testamentum, ea publici iuris faceres, aut saltem amicis non gravate concederas. In quibus quia novissimus non sum, obsecro te uti me illis aliquot dignere. Nam ut scias totus iam in theologia sum, et quod hactenus alibi lusi, id totum iam ad hanc dominam ornandam refero. Ita tu me olim facere hortatus es serio; ita te monitorem secutus sedulo nunc facio. Deus dabit incrementum.[15]

Vale, mi suavissime, mi doctissime Casaubone. Lectissimae uxori et filiis salutem. Deum veneror uti redditam tibi uxorem incolumem servet; te nobis literisque sospitem diu diuque praestet.[16] Sed tu valetudinem tuam diligenter cura, et Aristotelici praecepti memineris, μὴ οὐσῶν τῶν πρώτων οὐσιῶν, ἀδύνατον τῶν ἄλλων τι εἶναι.[17] Iterum vale, vir praestantissime.

Cantebrigiae (non Oxonii), a. d. Non. Martias Iulianas 1602.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 7 May 1602

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 244r.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo Viro / Isaaco Casaubono / Lutetiam Parisiorum.
NOTE: The autograph of this letter still has Thomson's seal attached.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson has received all Casaubon's letters, and replied to them via Perrot. He regrets that he did not meet Tardiaeus in

edited in Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 1, notes, p. 5. Thomson had seen Jean in Geneva in the 1590s: see chapter 7, 'Geneva, April–August 1593'. He converted to the Roman church in August 1610.

13 Published long ago in Geneva: *Novi Testamenti libri omnes nunc editi cum notis Isaaci Casauboni. Adiectae sunt variae lectiones omnes*, [Geneva], apud Eustathium Vignon, 1587.

14 Casaubon must have disapproved: no such book was printed in England.

15 1 Corinthians 3.6 and 3.7. 'Dat Deus incrementum' is also the motto of Westminister school, of which William Camden had recently been headmaster.

16 Casaubon's letters had informed Thomson that his wife Florence had been dangerously ill in January and had since recovered.

17 'If there were no primary substances, nothing else could exist' (Aristotle, *Categories*, v.5). A very learned joke: Casaubon is a 'primary substance', and his death would threaten the existence of the whole universe.

London. He will lend the Labbé brothers the lexicon of Photius and some other material, provided they return it to Casaubon. Thomson would also like a copy of Scaliger's tract on purgatory which they have. Casaubon has asked about books published in England: there are some works of theology written in English which Casaubon might find useful, if he can read the language. Camden, who asks regularly after Casaubon, has published only his *Britannia*. Thomson sends his regards to Casaubon's family.

Clarissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Non dubito quin pridem intellexeris nihil tuarum literarum intercidisse, omnibus enim respondi, et per Perrotam mittendas meas curavi.[1] Tardiaeum doleo mihi invisum: valde enim avebam compellare hominem et ipsius et tuo nomine.[2] Libenter, ut scis, cum vestratibus doctis conversor, et minima etiam quaeque tua audire immane quantum me delectet. Itaque irascor sorti meae et malo fato quod hic occupatissimum non sivit Londinum adire et tanto gaudio perfrui.

Labbaei fratres Photiae lexicon manuscriptum et alia quaedam a me petunt, quae proxime ad te mittam omnia, ea lege uti illi postquam usi abusi fuerint illis, postea ad te remittant omnia; quod significari iis abs te rogo.[3] Et interim Scaligeri tractatum de purgatorio, qui penes illos est, cures diligenter ad me deferendum.[4] Pridem multa de illo libello termaximi Semonis narrare solent amici, quo magis maiorem in modum videre aveo. Est quippe argumentum elegans, et in quo ille praeclare lusit pappismum.

Quod petis tibi libros aliquot nostratium commendari, frustra es, vir praestantissime. Sunt quidem aliqui non ignobiles inter nos scriptores theologi,

1 Denis Perrot, in London, fowarded letters between Thomson and Scaliger (in Leiden) and Casaubon (in Paris).

2 Aristarchus Tardaeus, or Tardiaeus, was used as a courier by Casaubon in 1602: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 270, 297, 329. The present letter is evidence that he visited England. He may be Aristarque Tardieu, Seigneur d'Incarville, whose marriage to Elisabeth Le Roy is recorded in 1608: see *Recueil de généalogies, pour servir de suite ou supplément au dictionnaire de la noblesse*, vol. 14, Paris, 1784, p. 548.

3 For an account of the fortunes of Thomson's manuscript of the lexicon, see chapter 20, 'The Lexicon of Photius'.

4 For the content and circulation of this short tract *De purgatorio*, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, pp. 177–185.

sed qui vernacula lingua scripserunt, quam si callere te significaveris, fortasse erit quo satisfiat expectationi tuae. Cambdenus praeter *Britanniam* suam nihil edidit, vir alioquin doctissimus et tui studiosissimus.[5] Nunquam enim praetermitttit diligenter de te et tuis studiis inquirere, si quando istinc ad nos aliqui adveniunt.

Vale, mi optime, mi doctissime, mi suavissime Casauboni. Lectissimae uxori, Philippae et amantissime salutem dico.[6] Deum veneror incolumem te diu diuque nobis properet.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. Non. Maii M D CII.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) 7 March 1603

AUTOGRAPH: Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10364 (*Collectio Camerariana*, vol. 14), fol. 665$^{r–v}$.

PRINT: Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 596–597.

DATE: The letter is dated 'V Cal. Martii Iuliani', or 25 March, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 7 March. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

ADDRESS: Illustri Viro / Iosepho Scaligero / Iul. Caes. F. / Lugdun. Batavorum.

NOTE: This is the only extant letter from Thomson to Scaliger.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has received the letter Scaliger entrusted to Thorius. He has already sent a Bible and two copies of Martial, and asks for confirmation of their arrival. He has not yet been able to secure the Hebrew books.

5 The first edition of William Camden's *Britannia* was printed in London in 1586. At the time of the present letter, the most recent revision was the fifth, printed in 1600. Thomson was apparently unaware of a recent work by Camden published anonymously: *Reges reginae, nobiles, et alii in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonsterii sepulti, usque ad annum reparatae salutis 1600*, London, excudebat E. Bollinsantus, 1600.

6 Casaubon's wife Florence, and his daughter Philippa.

Illustri viro Iosepho Scaligero Iul. Caes. f. Richard. Thomson. s. d.

Literas tuas, domine, quas per Thorium curasti, hodie accepi.[1] Et tamen dudum illis responsum puto. Scripsi enim bis terve a quo tuae datae sunt,[2] et Biblia Britannica cum duobus Martialis codicibus misi.[3] Ita ut et de silentio meo mirari desieris, sat scio, et officii mei ratio tibi simul constaret. Et tamen animi pendeo et valde solicitus sum ne quid ipsis sinistri (bona fortuna!) acciderit, quia tu hactenus nihil rescripsisti. Quare quod proximis etiam rogabam, iterum atque iterum te rogo, ut quam primum me hac sollicitudine liberes, et num acceperis significes. De Hebraicis nihil dum possum; si qui illorum occurrent, porro statim curabo ad te mittendos.[4]

Vale, domine, et me, quod facis, ama.

Cantebrigiae, ex a. d. v Cal. Martii Iuliani 1603.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Petrus Scriverius (Leiden) 1 June 1603

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, Pap. 2.
PRINT: *Clarorum virorum epistolae centum ineditae de vario eruditionis genere ex museo Iohannis Brant G. f. ad v. cl. I.G. Graevium*, Amsterdam, prostant apud Sebastianum Petsoldum, 1702, no. 20, pp. 75–77.
Epistolae celeberrimorum Virorum … ex scriniis literariis Iani Brantii, Amsterdam, apud Ianssonio-Waesbergios, 1715, no. 20, pp. 75–77.

5 cons[taret] *absc.* MBSB

1 Raphael Thorius, a Flemish physician and poet, studied medicine in Oxford and Leiden, and practised in England. See O.P. Grell, 'Thorius, Raphael (d. 1625)', ODNB, 2004, 54, pp. 585–586. No letters between Scaliger and Thorius, or between Thomson and Thorius, are extant. For Thomson's interest in the text of Martial, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

2 These letters from Thomson to Scaliger have not survived.

3 By 'Biblia Britannica', Scaliger probably meant a Bible in Welsh. At his death in 1609 he owned a 'Biblia lingua Cambrica sive Wallica, fol. Londini 1588' (*The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 50). No manuscript of Martial occurs in Scaliger's bequest, described in Daniel Heinsius, *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Lugdunensis*, [Leiden, 1612]. These 'codices' may have been printed books.

4 Scaliger had asked for Hebrew books in his letter to Thomson of 23 August 1601.

TEXT: The edition of 1715 is a reissue of the leaves of the edition of 1702 with a new titlepage. The edition of 1702 was set from the extant autograph.

ADDRESS: Ornatissimo et eruditissimo / Viro / Petro Scriverio. / Lugdun. Batavorum.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson is glad that his own insignificant notes on Martial have provoked Scriverius' friendly letter. Thomson did have a manuscript of Arnobius, but he lost it on a recent trip to London: if it turns up, he will send it. Scriverius may use Thomson's observations on Martial as he sees fit. Thomson understands that Heinsius is preparing an edition of Hesychius. Scriverius might mention to Heinsius that Thomson has notes on Hesychius gathered during his time in Italy.

Richardus Thomson Petro Scriverio s. d.

Occupatissimus sum in alieno negotio, mi doctissime, mi suavissime Scriveri, quare ignosces si minus officiose literis tuis respondere cogar.[1] Scio his deliciis non constare veras illas amicitias, aliis parantur lenociniis, aliis aeternantur delinimentis. Quare aegre fuit silentii tui excusatio. Nam quis ego sum cui tu aliquid debere possis? Scilicet nugae illae ad Martialem tanti erant ut earum gratia me tam erudita et amica epistola convenires?[2] Et tamen hoc nomine illas aeternum amabo, quod mutuae inter nos amicitiae conciliatrices et parariae extiterint. Male peream nisi ego hoc novum sacramentum summa sanctitate perpetuo colam. Quare si quid uspiam meum est, deinceps meum-tuum esto.

Arnobium manuscriptum habeo, imo habui, mi Scriveri. Nam nescio qua mala manu nuperrime adeo mihi sublatus, dum nescio quibus peregrinis sarcinulas meas explico. Sed superest specula[3] dum illi adhuc Londini haerent. Si recepso,[4] protinus ad te ibit.[5] Si quae tibi probantur in Martiale meo, iis

1 Richardus … s. d.] ornatissimo et eruditissimo viro Petro Scriverio Richardus Thomson s. d. Lugd. Batav. *1702*, *1715* 14 recepso] recipio *1702*, *1715*

1 This letter from Scriverius to Thomson has not come to light.

2 For Thomson's contributions to this work on Martial, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

3 'Specula' here is a diminutive of 'spes'.

4 'Recepso' is the future tense of 'recipio': see Catullus, *Carmina*, 44.19. The editor of the *editio princeps* did not recognise the unusual form and introduced a correction.

5 Thomson's manuscript of Arnobius' *Adversus gentes* has not been identified, though he

utaris, abutaris pro arbitratu, imo libidine tua; non est quod ego modum tibi illa in re praescribam. Dominum Heynsium audio apparare nobis Esychium.[6] Arduum et Herculeum opus, et quod Augiae stabuli purgationem superaturum est. Habeo quaedam in illum auctorem, quae nupera peregrinatione mea Italica conquaesivi. Si operaeprecium esse putaveris, id illi significabis, et me una diligenter insinuabis.[7]

Vale, mi doctissime Scriveri, et festinationem meam mihi ignosce.

Cantebrigiae, ex a. d. Kal. Iunii 1603. Proxime ociosius.

Petrus Scriverius [Leiden] to Thomson [England] **[c. 1604]**

DRAFT: London, British Library, Harley, 3417, fol. 145^{v}.

DATE: The letter survives in an undated draft. At the time of writing, Scaliger (d. 1609) is still alive and Daniel Heinsius (b. 1580) is old enough to be consulted and respected. Dominicus Baudius is close enough to be consulted on the matter: he was probably with Scriverius in Leiden, which suggests a date of 1603 or later. The edition of the epigrams by Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575), sharply criticised in the present letter, was published many years before this draft was written.

2 Dominum] tuum *1702*, *1715* 8 Cantebrigiae] Cantabrigiae *1702*, *1715* ‖ a. d.] ad *1702*, *1715*

did own and annotate a printed copy: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 6. Scriverius' request may have been connected with the fact that in the summer of 1603 Geverhard Elmenhorst was preparing an edition of Arnobius: *Arnobii disputationum adversus gentes libri septem. Quibus accessit eiusdem argumenti dialogus; M. Minutii Felicis Octavius. Geverhardus Elmenhorst recensuit et notis illustravit. Ad illustrem virum Iosephum Scaligerum*, Hannover, typis Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marnium et heredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1603.

6 Daniel Heinsius' notes on the lexicon of Hesychius were not published until the eighteenth century (2 vols, Leiden, 1746–1766).

7 Thomson's notes on Hesychius have not come to light, but his annotated copy of the edition of 1521 survives: see appendix 2, 'Thomson's Library', 'Printed Books', no. 1. Thomson's notes seem to be those which Heinsius mentioned to Casaubon in a letter from Leiden of 4 November 1605: 'expecto ex Anglia collatum cum Italis codicibus Hesychium; quod opus maiori aetati reservo et scientiae' (London, British Library, Burney 364, fol. 228^{v}). In 1633 Patrick Young sent Heinsius a copy of Thomson's notes on Hesychius: see Young to Heinsius, 30 June 1633; Heinsius to Young, 17 September 1633 (J. Kemke, *Patricius Junius* (*Patrick Young*)*: Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I. und Carl I. von England*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 69–71).

The present letter appears to have been written in connection with the first attempt by Scriverius to edit Martial. Thomson was corresponding with Scriverius about this lost edition in 1603 and 1604. For a full account of its progress through the press in Leiden, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

TEXT: This is a draft of a letter to Thomson in Scriverius' hand, with many corrections and revisions. We cannot be certain that it was ever sent.

SYNOPSIS: The additional epigrams published by Hadrianus Junius are of poor quality. Though they have not yet been dismissed by scholars, they are unlikely to be genuine. Scaliger, Baudius and Heinsius have suggested that they should be printed in an appendix, and Scriverius has done so. A friend suspects that eight of them were composed by Junius himself.

Tuam fidem, mi Thomsoni, vidistine unquam quicquam insubidius aut ieunius istis epigrammatis, quae illustre sidus Bataviae Hadrianus Iunius publicavit?[1] Ego mehercle miror tam patienter ista hactenus a doctis lectitata, nec qui furcillis eiiceret quenquam repertum fuisse.[2] Mihi statim suboluit sciolorum monachorum magistellorumve oscitantium excrementa esse, quos ego nugatores hic mihi adstare vellem.[3] Ita, mi Hercules Musageta, iuvet ut illis os

4–5 suboluit ~~esse~~ \sciolorum/ *LBL* \~~ineptixxxx~~ \oscitantium// LBL

5 monachorum ~~et~~ *LBL* ‖ magistellorumve ~~t~~[~~rum~~]

1 The edition of Junius (d. 1575) had been published many years earlier: *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammaton libri XII. Xeniorum liber I. Apophoretorum liber I. Omnia ... emendata, scholiis in margine illustrata, apposita etiam varietate lectionum; ac demum decem epigrammatis ex vetusto codice suis locis adiectis, aucti, opera Hadriani Iunii medici*, Antwerp, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1568.

2 Compare Catullus, *Carmina*, 105.2: 'Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt'; Scaliger's commentary on Festus, *s. v.* 'Furcilla': 'Furcillis movere, expellere, eiicere, et Latinis proverbialiter effertur, et Graecis ipsis ...' (*Marci Verrii Flacci quae extant. Sex. Pompei Festi de verborum significatione libri XX, et in eos Iosephi Scaligeri Iul. Caesaris filii castigationes nunc primum publicatae*, 3 parts, [Geneva?], apud Petrum Santandreanum, 1574–1575, part 2, p. LXI).

3 Compare Scriverius' words regarding these epigrams in the edition which he later published: 'Proculdubio ab insulsis monachis et scribis deliramenta haec profecta sunt' (*M. Val. Martialis nova editio. Ex Museo Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, apud Ioannem Maire, 1618–1619, part 1, p. 307).

interpollares.[4] Imo impetrarem illis sufflarent buccas, ut deinde ego eas alapiis caederem iucundissimo sonore. Illustris Iosephus Scaliger, vir nunquam sine laude nominandus, haec in ultimas ternas deportanda censuit.[5] Censebant idem doctissimi mihi amicissimi viri Dominicus Baudius et Daniel Heynsius, et quis non cui 'meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan'.[6] Sustulimus itaque ea ex pulcherrimo opere, nec bardocucullum[7] inter Thyriamsinas vestes regnare passi sumus.[8] Quod factum qui improbat, mihi improbus intestabilisque erit.

Amicus quidam meus narravit mihi nuper suspicari quosdam octo illa epigrammata ab ipsomet Iunio conficta et composita esse.[9] Eho quid audio? Et illos velli indices; quia una opera cetera inepta epigrammata †adote†, mi Thomsoni, auctoris referant, quod primus ea indicasti.[10] De quibus etiam quid sentiam uno verbo dicam: piget ineptiarum et poenitet laboris qui his ascribendis impenditur.

In the left margin of the letter, besides the opening sentences, are two notes, These are difficult to locate within the text as it stands, but may well have been incorporated into the letter sent to Thomson:

> Quare uno ductu haec omnia continuanda.
>
> Hoc epigramma ab interpunctionibus male acceptum: quantum caliginis offundent!

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1 Imo ~~iuberem~~ *LBL* 5 finxit] *correxi ex* fixit *LBL* 6 Thyriamsinas] *sic LBL* 9–11 esse … referant] esse ~~illi~~ \Eho quid audio./ qu[..] una opera cetera ~~illa~~ \et illi [ve]lli indices/ inepta adote \Epigrammata, mi Thomsoni/ auct[oris] referant, \~~mi Thomsoni~~/ *LBL* 10 adote] *sic LBL*

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4 Compare Plautus, *Amphitryon*, 1.1.161: 'illic homo me interpolabit, meumque os finget denuo'.

5 When Scriverius' published an edition of Martial many years later, he relegated these epigrams to an appendix: *M. Val. Martialis nova editio. Ex Museo Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, apud Ioannem Maire, 1618–1619, part 1, pp. 307–312.

6 Juvenal, *Satires*, XIV.34.

7 Or 'bardocucullos'. Scriverius' draft retained both possibilities.

8 The turn of phrase is from Martial, *Epigrams*, I.54.5, where the elegant 'urbica Tyrianthina' is contrasted with the 'Lingonicus bardocucullus'.

9 Junius' edition of 1568 claimed on its title page to have ten, not eight, additional epigrams, derived from an English manuscript. The 'amicus' has not been identified, but it may have been Jan Gruter in Heidelberg, whose edition of Martial had been published in 1602: see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

10 This difficult sentence would have been recast in the letter sent to Thomson.

Thomson (London) to Petrus Scriverius (Leiden) 30 June 1604

AUTOGRAPH: Leiden, University Library, BPL 748.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo et Ornatissimo / Viro / Petro Scriverio suo. / Lugdun. Batavorum.
TEXT: A note at the foot of the autograph, in a very small hand, is by Scriverius: 'Brevi, favente Deo, faciam ut promissa appareant'.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson has written to Scriverius, and twice to Scaliger, but has had no reply. With his latest letter to Scaliger, Thomson sent a Bible. Thomson's imminent departure for the countryside prevents him from writing to ask Scaliger whether he would like the Bible in Slavonic. Thomson is eager to see Scriverius' edition of Martial, now printed. Scaliger's Greek versions of Martial were mentioned in Heinsius' notes on Theocritus. Thomson would like to know when Heinsius' edition of Hesychius will be ready, and will send Heinsius some of his own notes on Hesychius. He asks about the progress of Scaliger's edition of Eusebius.

Clarissimo viro Petro Scriverio suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Bis ad illustrissimum Scaligerum scripsi ex quo ad me redii, prioribus eius alias quoque ad te addideram.[1] Quid omnibus illis factum sit, aveo scire. Idque eo magis, quo me acrius urit cura Britannicorum Bibliorum quae iam secundo ad dominum Scaligerum misi.[2] Quaeso te, mi doctissime, mi humanissime Scriveri, uti ab eo scisciteris, nunquid de iis inaudierit. Non possum animo quiescere priusquam ea me cura vel tu, vel ille liberaverit. Sed neque iam vacat ad illum scribere. In procinctu enim sum, et paullo post rus profecturus cum aliquot nobilibus aulicis.[3] Alioquin nunquid Biblia Sclavonica vellet, rogassem.[4]

5 te] \te/ *LUB*

1 Thomson's most recent extant letter to Scaliger is dated 7 March 1603; Thomson's most recent to Scriverius is dated 1 June 1603. The second letter to Scaliger seems to have been sent in June 1604: see Scaliger to Thomson, 9 August 1604.

2 This Bible had been sent with a letter to Scaliger in June: see Scaliger to Thomson, 9 August 1604. It was probably a copy of the Bible in Welsh, perhaps the edition of 1588: see Thomson to Scaliger, 7 March 1603.

3 This rural retreat is otherwise unattested. Thomson may have been in London for the wedding of Johannes de Laet, which took place on 3 July 1604: see chapter 21, 'Johannes de Laet, 1603–1606'.

4 There is no evidence that Thomson ever put this question to Scaliger.

Sed heus tu! Quid Martiale tuo factum est? Cur non manumittis eum? Et cur diligentiam tuam et industriam nobis invides? Ego satis mirari non possum, quomodo hactenus non prodierit, qui novissimum folium excussum viderim, et in doctissimi et elegantissimi Heinsii Theocriticis, versionum Scaligeri mentionem iniectam observarim.[5] Hunc tu mihi nodum explica, doctissime Scriveri, et quando eum certo exspectare debeamus significa; imo (quod mavelim) eius ad me exemplar excusum prima quaque occasion trasmitte, una cum codicibus meis, si quidem iis perfructus sis.[6]

De Heinsii Hesichio illud mihi indicabis: quando eius editionem instituet ille?[7] Quam primum enim Cantebrigiam rediero, varias aliquot lectiones ad illum transmittam, nisi iis opus non habebit.[8] Et vero de Scaligeri Eusebio quid fit? Estne dudum sub praelo?[9] Fac specimen operarum videamus, quaeso, magno mehercle beneficio nos mactabis. Vides, mi Scriveri, quam familiariter

9 Hesichio] *sic* LUB

5 Daniel Heinsius' notes on Theocritus and other poets were published in 1603. The edition includes an undated letter from Heinsius to Casaubon, which mentions that Scaliger is dedicating his translations of Martial to Casaubon: *Danielis Heinsii emendationes et notae in Theocriti Idyllia bucolica*, [Heidelberg], in bibliopolio Commeliniano, 1603, p. 100. This letter was not reprinted in the new edition of Heinsius' commentary the following year, evidence that Thomson read the edition of 1603.

6 Scriverius' edition of Martial, largely printed at this date, was abandoned by its editor and never published. For its fortunes, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'. Scriverius made use of collations and notes which he had from Thomson. Scaliger's Greek versions from Martial were to have been an appendix to this edition. Scriverius distributed a limited number of copies of these versions: *Anthologia epigrammaton Martialis. Iosephus Scaliger, Iulii Caes. filius, vertit Graece, ad Isaacium Casaubonium V.C. Petrus Scriverius publicavit. Item alia eiusdem Scaligeri poematia, et iuveniles aliquot tralationes adiecit*, Leiden and Antwerp, excudebat Guyotius, typis Raphelengianis, 1603. This edition was and is very rare, and Thomson did not have a copy.

7 Heinsius never published an edition of the lexicon of Hesychius, although some of his notes on the work were printed in the eighteenth century (2 vols, Leiden, 1746–1766). Thomson had mentioned Heinsius' work on Hesychius in his letter to Scriverius of 1 June 1603, and for Thomson's own notes on the author, see that letter, note 7.

8 These notes seem to be those which Heinsius mentioned to Casaubon in a letter from Leiden dated 4 November 1605: 'expecto ex Anglia collatum cum Italis codicibus Hesychium; quod opus maiori aetati reservo et scientiae' (London, British Library, Burney 364, fol. 228^{v}).

9 Thomson must have asked Scaliger the same question, for he received an answer in Scaliger to Thomson, 9 August 1604. However, Scaliger's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, printed as part of the *Thesaurus temporum*, was not published until 1606.

tecum garriam. Sed tu pro humanitate tua omnia in bonam partem accipies, et me amabis, qui te aeternum.

Londini, Pridie Cal. Quinctilis 1604.

Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge?] 9 August 1604

PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 238, pp. 509–511.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 238, pp. 468–469.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 381–383.

DATE: The letter is dated 'III Kal. Sextilis Iuliani', or 30 July, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 9 August. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

TEXT: The edition of 1628 was set from that of 1627 and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger has not received the Bible Thomson sent in June, and he can find no news of the sailor Samuel. Another Bible he received via De Laet is incomplete. He would have given much to have the Bible in Gaelic. From today, his edition of Eusebius will be printed on two presses. Scriverius' edition of Martial could have been published fifteen months ago. Scaliger is surprised that Chrysostom is to be printed in England. Another edition is nearly complete in Paris. Scaliger has had no time to complete his work on the mass. He repunctuates a passage in Tertullian and explains its meaning. The administration of baptism by the laity is not sanctioned.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Postremis tuis iam respondi.[1] In illis de missis ad me mense Iunio Bibliis monebas. Ego vero me nulla accepisse, nullum eorum odorem ad nos pervenisse, significavi. De Samuele illo Roterodamensi nauta dedi negotium amicis, qui

1 This earlier letter from Scaliger, and the letter from Thomson which provoked it, have not come to light.

percontarentur. Negarunt se ullum eo nomine nautam aut nosse aut qui noverint vidisse. Tabellarium quidem urbis publicum esse, cui nomen Samueli.[2] Non mediocriter miror quid illis infelicibus Bibliis factum sit. Exemplar aliud a Latio missum, sed duobus quaternionibus mutilum accepi.[3] Ego librum imperfectum perinde censeo ac nullum. Hoc miserius est, quod non minus pro eo precium persolvendum ac si integrum esset. Quare valde cupio integrum exemplar nancisci et illud redhibere. Magis miror quod nuper Scriverio significasti bina te Biblia ad me misisse.[4] Idem mihi dolor de Novo Testamento Hibernico incessit, quod plurimi fecerim nancisci.[5]

Meus Eusebius, quod felix faustumque sit, hodie duobus praelis committi coepit.[6] Latina Hieronymi absoluta sunt. Supersunt Graeca, notae, *Isagogici Canones*; magna moles operis. Sed accessio alterius praeli spem maturioris partus facit. Scriverii Martialis ante XV menses poterat prodire, si per negotia illius licuisset. Quatuor tantum quaterniones absolvendo operi desunt. Urgeo quotidie hominem et libenter obiurgationem meam audit. Sed castigatio morae moram ipsam auget.[7] Verum de editione Chrysostomi quid ais? Ego non solum Parisiis edi, sed et parum (ut tuae literae loquuntur) abesse a fine putabam, et istic apud vos instituitur editio ac nondum, quantum video, coepta est.[8] De

2 Neither the *tabellarius* nor the sailor have been further identified.

3 The imperfect Bible was bought by Thomson and sent to Scaliger via Johannes de Laet (Latius). In February 1604 Scaliger wrote to De Laet of two Bibles: 'Nihil illis addo, nisi uno verbo, quod pluribus a te contendi, ut Biblia illa et Novum Testamentum Hibernicum, quod Thomson promiserat, mihi curentur' (Scaliger to De Laet, 28 February 1604; see also Scaliger to De Laet, 22 May 1604; De Laet to Scaliger, 7 September 1604; Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 245, 317–318, 405–406).

4 The Bible which Thomson mentioned to Scriverius in June 1604 was probably in Welsh: see Thomson to Scriverius, 30 June 1604.

5 For this 'Novum Testamentum Hibernicum', see this letter, note 3. The work in question is the first printing of the New Testament in Gaelic: *Tiomna Nuadh ar dTighearna agus ar Slanaightheora Iosa Criosd, ar na tarruing gu firinneach as Gréigis gu gáoioheilg, re hUilliam O Domhnuill*, [Dublin], 1602.

6 Scaliger's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, printed in the *Thesaurus temporum*, was not published until 1606. The possibility of having it printed by two presses was raised in the spring of 1604, and the arrangement was confirmed by June: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 259–261; 294–296; 325–326; 342–344.

7 Scriverius had been working on an edition of Martial since 1602. For the fortunes of the edition, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

8 Scaliger has heard of the projected Eton Chrysostom. The edition was conceived by Henry Savile around 1600, and preparations continued throughout the following decade. Scaliger was informed of Savile's edition in June 1602 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 286–288). It was eventually printed in eight volumes between 1610 and 1613:

missa quod quaeris, iamdudum aliquid parturio quod nondum parere per meas occupationes possum. Erit aliquando, ubi aliquid post alios muginabimur.[9]

Locus Tertulliani ita interpungendus:

> Alioqui etiam laicis ius est, (quod enim ex aequo accipitur, ex aequo dari debet) nisi episcopi iam aut presbyteri, aut diaconi vocantur.[10]

Sententia apertissima: laicis etiam permittitur, nisi velint et ipsi ex hac licentia sibi propter necessitatem concessa, episcopi et presbyteri dici, quemadmodum et Quintilla et qui eam sequuntur id ius sibi et nomen vindicare videntur.[11] Sed vetustus error est in ecclesia receptus, laicis licere baptizare, propter alium errorem, quo metuebant illis qui sine baptismo moriebantur, quasi vero ullum periculum damnationis sit illis qui moriuntur in ecclesia Christi. Hoc excepto, si per superbiam aut contemptum aut negligentiam, baptismus dilatus sit. In hunc errorem poteram plura. Tu interea istis contentus esto.

Vale.

Lugduni Batavorum, III Kal. Sextilis Iuliani M D CIV.

Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge] 25 November [1604?]

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 897, fol. 234^{v}.
PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 239, pp. 511–513.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 239, pp. 469–471.

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see S.L. Greenslade, 'The printer's copy for the Eton Chrysostom, 1610–1613', *Studia Patristica*, 7, 1966, pp. 60–64; J.-L. Quantin, 'Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec: Une histoire européenne (1588–1613)', in *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren: Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters*, ed. M. Wallraff and R. Brändle, Berlin, 2008. The Paris edition noticed in the present letter was also delayed: *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi ... homiliae LXXVII. Nunc primum Graece et Latine coniunctim editae. ... F. Ducaeus ... variantes lectiones ex MSS. codd. selegit, veterem interpretationem editarum olim homiliarum recensuit, aliarum novam edidit, utramque notis illustravit*, Paris, typis regiis apud Claudium Morellum, 1609.

9 This work by Scaliger has not been identified.

10 Tertullian, *De baptismo*, XVII.2.

11 According to Epiphanius, *Panarion*, XLIX.1.9, the Phrygian heretic Quintilla claimed that Christ had descended to her in a vision as a woman. As a result, her followers appointed women as prophetesses. Epiphanius does not say that Quintilla or her followers claimed the titles of bishop or presbyter.

Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 454–457.

DATE: The letter is *sine anno*. The year assigned to it here is discussed at length in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 454–455. Since the publication of that edition, the identity and movements of Scaliger's correspondent Mikkel Hvas have been established. Hvas (1583–c. 1656) matriculated at Leiden in May 1601, and remained there until 1602. He was in Paris in the summer of 1603, leaving some time after 14 August to travel to England. From Cambridge he wrote the lost letter mentioned in the present letter. For details, see Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist, 1563–1632*, Leiden, 1985, pp. 20–21. This new information supports a date of 1603 or 1604, with some slight preference for the former.

The letter is dated 'XVII Kal. Decembris Iuliani', or 15 November, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 25 November. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

TEXT: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 897, has a passage which runs from 'Postremis tuis' to 'neque dubitandum' (p. 292, line 18–p. 293, line 4). This passage is supplied with the number of the letter as it appears in the editions of 1627 and 1628, and it was extracted from one of those editions. The edition of 1628 was set from that of 1627 and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger has already thanked Thomson for Gorionides in Hebrew. He asks for the Bible in Gaelic, for which he will pay Norton immediately. He also asks for a Hebrew concordance. England is well supplied with Hebrew books: Scaliger's Venetian friends could not find the edition of Josippon which Thomson gave him. Hvas has written to him from Cambridge, and Scaliger asks Thomson to forward a reply to him. Scaliger's edition of Eusebius is advancing towards publication. Thomson asked whether Irenaeus wrote in Greek. Erasmus was wrong: the fragments which survive in Epiphanius prove that he wrote in Greek. Scaliger would like details of plans for an English edition of Chrysostom. Should Thomson come across a Latin Koran, Scaliger will buy it. Scaliger cannot read Hvas' toponym.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Iamdudum ad tuas postremas respondi.[1] Gratias etiam egi, ut et nunc ago, de Iosepho Gorionide Hebraeo, neque dubito, tum te meas accepisse, tum meam sollicitudinem ex illis intellexisse, quod pro meritis tuis in me satis magnas referre non possum quas debebam grates.[2] Itaque quod verebar ne parum gratus videar, quod parum eloquens in recordatione beneficii sum, hoc omne aequanimitate tua suppleri posse puto, praesertim quum animus meus tibi ab omni simulatione alienus, satis perspectus sit.

Caeterum quam humanitatem in Gorionide expertus sum, eandem ut in Bibliis priscae Pictonum linguae mihi praestes, oro.[3] Nummos Northono numerari statim curabo.[4] Diu est quum illum librum expecto. Quae Biblia intelligam et tibi iam significavi et te intelligere iamdudum mihi significasti.[5]

1 If the present letter is of 1603, then one of these letters may be Thomson to Scaliger, 7 March 1603.

2 Scaliger refers to the Hebrew work attributed to Joseph ben Gorion ('Josippon'). Scaliger owned a copy in 1601: *Historiarum Iosephi ... compendium, complectens Acta Septuaginta interpretum. Gesta Machabaeorum ... S. Munstero interprete*, Basle, 1559. In November 1601 he asked Charles and Pierre Labbé for 'Ioseph Ben Gorion, in Italia aut Cracoviae editus. Nam editionem Munsteri Basiliensem prorsus reiicimus' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 98–101). He acquired both editions, for the catalogue of the Hebrew books Scaliger bequeathed to Leiden University Library included those printed in Venice in 1544 and in Cracow in 1589: see Daniel Heinsius, *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Lugdunensis*, [Leiden, 1612], p. 22. The Venetian edition came to him from Thomson: see this letter, note 7.

3 This refers not to the *Pictavii* of southern France, but to the Picts, the ancient inhabitants of Scotland. Scaliger appears to mean a Gaelic Bible, probably the first edition of the New Testament in Gaelic: *Tiomna Nuadh ar dTighearna agus ar Slanaightheora Iosa Criosd, ar na tarruing gu firinneach as Gréigis gu gáoioheilg, re hUilliam O Domhnuill*, [Dublin], 1602. See this letter, note 5.

4 'Northonus' is probably Bonham Norton (1565–1635), a prominent member of the Stationers' Company. In 1605 he established, with his cousin John Norton (d. 1612), the *Officina Nortoniana* which specialised in scholarly books printed in London and on the continent. See D.L. Gants, 'Norton, Bonham (1565–1635)', ODNB, 2004, 41, pp. 156–158. In 1601 Scaliger sent Thomson a list of Hebrew books and wrote that he could pay for them via Raphelengius and Norton (Scaliger to Thomson, 23 August 1601).

5 Scaliger was attempting to acquire from Thomson a copy of the Bible in Gaelic in 1604 and 1605: see this letter, note 3, and Scaliger to Thomson, 9 August 1604. Scaliger was still asking for this book in his letter to Thomson of 3 September 1605: 'De Novo Testamento Hirlandico, non cessabo aurem vellere. Noli parcere precio: res statim solvetur'. *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, records a copy of 'Biblia lingua

Gratissimam rem nobis feceris, si concordantias Hebraicas nobis paraveris.[6] Nam librorum Hebraicorum est apud vos, quam in istis regionibus ubi olim excusi fuerunt, parabilior copia est. Iosephum enim illum, quem beneficio tuo possideo, amici nostri Venetiis, ubi editus fuit, nunquam invenire potuerunt, quamvis diligentiae nihil reliquum facerent.[7] Et non solum ipsi, sed et per amicos, etiam per familiares Iudaeos, omnes angulos urbis ἐσκευώρουν.

Nobilis quidam vester Michael Hvass Cantabrigia ad me scripsit. Ei quas scribo, reddas, oro, literas.[8] Non potui expiscari quid velit. Quod tamen suspicari potui, de eo quid iudicii mei sit significavi. Itaque oro te, mi Thomson, ut quando ad me dabis literas, prius eum convenias, ut scias an iterum ad nos aliquid scribere in animo habeat.

Contextus mei Eusebii Graecus et Latinus in procinctu est. Quum videris, moras editionis excusabis; imo miraberis, pauculis mensibus tantum me laboris explicare potuisse. Aliud denique quam id quod daturi sumus a nobis expectatur; et nemini qualis futura sit editio nostra in mentem venire potest. Hodie notas in eundem autorem et εἰσαγωγὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν ad rationem temporum aggrediemur primum.[9]

Aut fallor aut nuper postremis tuis Latine an Graece Irenaeus scripserit, quaerebas. Ego miratus sum Erasmum ex illo febriculoso interprete Latino qui nobis superest, iudicasse et verum esse Irenaeum et Graecissare.[10] Sed

7 vester] vestras *s-1627*

Cambrica sive Wallica. fol. Londini. 1588'. This is William Morgan's translation of the whole Bible into Welsh.

6 In November 1601 Scaliger had asked the Labbé brothers for a Hebrew concordance (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 98–101).

7 At his death in 1609, Scaliger owned Joseph ben Gorion ('Josippon'), *Historia Iudaica*, Venice, Cornelius Adelkind, 1544. It was evidently the book sent to him by Thomson: see this letter, note 2.

8 There are no extant letters between Scaliger and Michael Hvas. For his identity, see the headnotes to the present letter.

9 Scaliger's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, the *Thesaurus temporum*, was not published until 1606. By εἰσαγωγὴ ἐπιστημονική, Scaliger seems to intend his *Canones isagogici*, which appeared at the end of the *Thesaurus temporum*, after the notes on Eusebius.

10 Scaliger is referring to Erasmus' preface to his edition of Irenaeus: see P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen and H.W. Garrod, eds, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 volumes, Oxford, 1906–1958, 6, no. 1738, lines 73–76: 'mihi nondum satis liquet Graecene scripserit an Latine, etiamsi magis arbitror Latine scripsisse, Graeci tamen sermonis peritiorem. Itaque figuris Graecis tanquam suo iure abutitur loquens'. The question was settled when Nicolaus Gallasius edited Irenaeus (Geneva, 1570), and printed some fragments of Irenaeus' Greek text preserved in Epiphanius (Allen, ad loc.).

ineptissimus fuit ille Latinus interpres, et multa quae non intellexit aut omisit aut depravavit. Quae apud Epiphanium extant fragmenta, rerum praeterea ipsius Irenaei gestarum apud Eusebium historia,[11] satis convincunt et hominem Graecum fuisse et Graece scripsisse. Neque dubitandum.

Vale.

Lugduni Batavorum, XVII Kal. Decembris Iuliani.

In Anglia editionem Graecorum opusculorum Chrysostomi omnium quae extant parari audio. Quid de ea re inceptum sit, uti me quamprimum certiorem facias, etiam atque etiam oro.[12] Iterum vale.

Rursus si quo casu in manus tuas versio Alcorani Latina inciderit, ne parcas sumptibus.[13] Ego quovis precio illam mihi parari cupio; et summopere a te contendo ne de manibus tuis elabatur.[14] Nihil est quod gratius mihi facere possis.

Iste Michael Hvass Anglus an Danus sit, nescio. Tu poteris scire. Dominum haereditarium alicuius dominii se vocat, quod ego legere non possum.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Dominicus Baudius (Leiden) 27 July 1605

PRINT: Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1620, pp. 730–732, cent. 3, no. 100.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1622, pp. 730–732, cent. 3, no. 100.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1625, pp. 697–698, cent. 3, no. 100.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1631, pp. 697–698, cent. 3, no. 100.

11 The reference is to Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.5, 7–8 and 20, an account of Irenaeus' life and writings.

12 For this edition, the so-called Eton Chrysostom, see Scaliger to Thomson, 9 August 1604, note 8.

13 Scaliger may want the Latin version made by Robertus Retenensis (1141–1143), known as the *Lex Mahumet pseudeprophetae*, and edited by Theodore Bibliander: *Machumetis Saracenorum Principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran: … quae ante annos CCCC … D. Petrus Abbas Cluniacensis … ex Arabica lingua in Latinam transferri curavit*, Basle, Oporinus, 1543. It does not appear in *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, nor in the list of books Scaliger bequeathed to Leiden University Library.

14 Compare Cicero, *De oratore*, II.50.202: 'ego nihil umquam vidi, quod tam e manibus elaberetur, quam mihi tum est elapsa illa ipsa causa'.

Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1635, pp. 697–698, cent. 3, no. 100.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1636, pp. 682–683, cent. 3, no. 100.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1639, pp. 521–522, cent. 3, no. 100.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1642, pp. 507–508, cent. 3, no. 100.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1647, pp. 507–508, cent. 3, no. 100.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1650, pp. 513–514, cent. 4, no. 38.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1654, pp. 485–486, cent. 4, no. 38.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1660, pp. 544–545, cent. 4, no. 38.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1662, p. 493, cent. 4, no. 38.
Praestantium ac eruditorum virorum epistolae ecclesiasticae et theologicae, 3rd edn, Amsterdam, 1704, no. 79, p. 148.

TEXT: Baudius' collected letters were frequently reprinted in the decades following his death: for their textual history, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 1, pp. xxxviii–xxxix. The present letter does not appear in the *editio princeps* of Baudius' letters, published in 1615.

ADDRESS: A survival of the address is printed at the top of the letter in all editions: 'Lugd. Batavorum'.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has finally received Baudius' letter and Drusius' package. He congratulates Baudius on his new post at Leiden, and is glad to hear the news about Arminius. Arminius is better known in England than Baudius supposes. English students rarely study abroad. Thomson shares Baudius' admiration for Scaliger's *Elenchus*. The Jesuit response to it will appear at the autumn bookfair. Thomson believes that Scriverius has abandoned his edition of Martial, and asks to receive as much of it as has been printed. He would particularly like to see Scaliger's Greek versions. He sends his regards to Scriverius, and to Baudius' wife.

Dominico Baudio suo Richardus Thomson s. p. d.

Literas tuas et Drusii fasciculum post aliquot mensium errores tandem accepi, doctissime Baudi.[1] Sed bene quod tandem. Gratissimum enim fuit intelligere

2 Drusii] Brusii *B-1647* ‖ fasciculum] fascilum *B-1625*

1 Baudius' letter to Thomson has not come to light, but it may have been delivered in person by Johannes Drusius junior on a visit to England. For this letter, and the contents of the package sent by Drusius senior, see chapter 23, 'Thomson's Hebrew'.

ex te quo gradu et loco istic esses. Nam ex quo hinc discessisti, nihil nisi per nebulam de rebus tuis inaudire potui, etiamsi diligenter inquisiverim.[2] Gratulor ergo tibi hanc professionem tuam, mi Baudi, praesertim vero quod in illa cum utilitate auditorum placeas.[3] Rara ista coniunctio, et paucis concessa, etiam magnis alioquin viris. Perge age et lucem illam ingenii tui, cuius stricturas vidimus, magis magisque quotidie diffunde. Nos inter illos sedebimus, qui maxime plausum dabunt.

De Arminio quod scribis, benigne.[4] Quanquam illius viri fama non tam ignorabilis apud nos est, atque tu videris existimare. Nam et mihi olim notissimus antequam apud vos profiteretur, et ex quo profitetur, multis aliis quoque hic innotescere coepit.[5] Itaque quoties isthinc studiosi aliqui ad nos veniunt, diligenter de Arminio inquirunt professores nostri. Itaque Academiae vestrae nomine sane laetor, quae tantum virum tenet. Angli nostri studiosi raro peregrinantur, quare mirum non est si pauci ad vos confluunt.

Scaligeri *Elenchum* vidi.[6] Profecto ita est ut scribis: θαύματα καὶ τέρατα, non ῥήματα sunt quae effundit.[7] Ego illum libellum necdum ex manibus deposui, etiamsi aliquoties perlegerim. Plane divinum scriptum est.[8] Quid Loiolitae facturi sint proximis his nundinis, scibimus.[9] Non leviter eos pupugit.

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1 istic] isthic *B-1622* 6 sedebimus] sudebimus *B-1631* 11 isthinc] istinc *B-1625* 17 Loiolitae] *sic B-1650*, *B-1654*, *B-1660*, *B-1662* **B-1620*, *B-1622*, *B-1625*, *B-1631*, *B-1635*, *B-1636*, *B-1639*, *B-1642*, *B-1647* 18 scibimus] scribimus *B-1654*, *B-1660*

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2 Baudius went on a diplomatic mission to England in 1602. For his biography, see NNBW, 1911–1937, 6, cols 81–82; P.L.M. Grootens, *Dominicus Baudius. Een levensschets uit het Leidse humanistenmilieu 1561–1613*, Nijmegen, 1942; DBF, 1951, 5, cols 846–847.

3 Baudius took up a post at Leiden in 1603 in the Faculty of Letters.

4 Baudius' lost letter must have informed Thomson that Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) had recently been appointed to a post in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Leiden.

5 This passage is the basis for the claim that Thomson was personally acquainted with Arminius.

6 Scaliger's *Elenchus* was appended to Johannes Drusius' reply to the Jesuit Nicolaus Serarius (1558–1609): *I. Drusii responsio ad Serarium de tribus sectis Iudaeorum. Accessit I. Scaligeri Elenchus Trihaeresii N. Serarii*, Franeker, 1605. For the composition of Scaliger's treatise, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 371–373. For Serarius, see ADB, 1892, 34, pp. 36–37.

7 Θαύματα καὶ τέρατα, non ῥήματα: 'marvels and wonders, not words'.

8 Scaliger remembered Thomson's praise: 'Il n'y a personne qui ait goust de mon livre contre Serarius que M. le Febvre et Thomson …' (Scaliger, *Secunda Scaligerana*, 1740, p. 325, *s. v.* 'Faber'); 'Thomson a escrit qu'il ne peut se souler de lire mon livre contre Serarius' (ibid., p. 595, *s. v.* 'Thomson').

9 Thomson anticipates the autumn bookfair in Frankfurt. The word 'Loiolitae' was concealed

De Martiale Scriverii iam prorsus sperare desii. Non persuadeo mihi fore ut denuo in manus sumat. Quare te etiam atque etiam rogo, mi Baudi, uti, quantum editum est, ad me transmittas.[10] Rem aliam gratiorem haud facile feceris. Aveo videre Graeca Scaligeri nostri.[11] Interim tamen salutabis meo nomine dominum Scriverium et aurem velles.[12]

Vale, mi optime et doctissime, et me quod facis ama. Uxori amicissimam salutem.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. VI Kalendas Augusti M D CV.

Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [Cambridge] 3 September 1605

COPY: Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, Ward I, fol. 40r.

PRINT: Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 149–152.

TEXT: The copy is in the hand of Thomson's contemporary, Samuel Ward (1572–1643), master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Like Thomson, Ward also worked from 1604 until 1611 on the new English translation of the Bible initiated by King James I.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger is glad that Thomson thinks well of his *Elenchus Trihaeresii*. It has its admirers abroad, but in Holland it has been less well received. Scaliger wrote it very quickly: a better critic would have deserved a more careful work. Scaliger may well ignore the response which is no doubt in preparation. He is proud to have been included among the learned men attacked in the *Amphitheatrum honoris*. He explains why

by an asterisk in the earliest editions of this letter. Its reappearance in editions from 1650 was probably an editorial inference, but it is no doubt correct.

10 Scriverius had been working on an edition of Martial since 1602. The book had been largely printed, but publication was delayed and the edition was finally abandoned. For its fortunes, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

11 In this context, Thomson probably refers to Scaliger's Greek versions of Martial's epigrams, which were to have been appended to Scriverius' edition of Martial: see Thomson to Scriverius, 30 June 1604. However, other Greek verse by Scaliger had been recently published: *Iosephi Scaligeri Iul. Caes. F. opuscula diversa Graeca et Latina partim nunquam hactenus edita, partim ab auctore recensita atque aucta. Cum notis in aliquot veteres scriptores*, Paris, apud Hadrianum Beys, 1605.

12 Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 640: 'aurem vellere', 'please bend his ear'.

his father called himself 'Burden'. Following a typographical error in Giraldi's book on poets, Scaliger's enemies name him 'Burdonius'. Guillandinus colluded with Riccobono to fabricate a document in which Scaliger's father appears as the son of Benedetto Burdonio, and thus not a Della Scala. This document was communicated to the Jesuits by Titius and exploited in the *Amphitheatrum honoris*. Thomson should buy the Gaelic New Testament: Scaliger will pay for it immediately. Scaliger hopes that his Eusebius will be ready for the spring bookfair. He has dealt with that ass Clavius.

Iosephus Scaliger Richardo Thomsoni.

De responso ad *Trihaeresion* impudentis Loiolitae, gratulor equidem mihi exstare te saltem in vestra Britannia cui iucunda sit lectio illius foeturae abortivae, quemadmodum etiam sunt in Gallia, atque adeo ex Pontificiis, quibus mirifice placuit.[1] Hic vero qui aliquem sensum aut gustum illius libelli habent adhuc reperi neminem quos dicerem sapere, nisi iudicium tuum (quod ego plurimi facio) me aliter sentire cogeret. Satis est mihi si tibi probatur.[2]

Potuisti ex scriptione ipsa tumultuaria coniicere pene prius me illud scripsisse quam meditatum esse. Nam occupationes meae non patiebantur me in nugis eas horas occupare quas alibi melius collocare possem. Si mihi res fuisset cum modesto homine, et (quod non postremum est) docto et accurato, et maiore otio et exquisitiore scriptione opus fuisset. Mihi propositum fuit hominis imperitiam detegere, ἀλαζονείαν castigare, impudentiam compescere, si modo ullum frenum admitttit Loiolitica impudentia.[3] Non dubito mihi paratum responsum, non confutationum sed calumniarum et sycophantiarum, quas praeterfluere sinemus, si nihil secum adferant quod confutare intersit aut dignitatis nostrae aut diligentiae.

2 Trihaeresion] *correxi ex* Triharesion *Ward 1* ‖ Loiolitae ~~gratulor~~ gratulor *Ward 1* 3 cui iucunda] *correxi ex* quam monita *Ward 1*

1 Thomson has read: *I. Drusii responsio ad Serarium de tribus sectis Iudaeorum. Accessit I. Scaligeri Elenchus Trihaeresii N. Serarii*, Franeker, 1605. For the composition of Scaliger's *Elenchus Trihaeresii*, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 371–373. For its target, the Jesuit Serarius (1558–1609), see ADB, 1892, 34, pp. 36–37.

2 For Thomson's praise of Scaliger' *Elenchus*, see Thomson to Baudius, 27 July 1605.

3 Ἀλαζονείαν: 'boastfulness'.

Vidisti impudentissimum, sacerrimum et inquinatissimum eorum *Amphitheatrum*, ubi neque ullius Latinitatis vestigium extat, neque ulla bona indoles stili, neque ullum paullo tolerabilius poema, sed omnia barbarismis, soloecismis, et (quod iocularius) syllabarum falsis modulis refertissima sunt.[4] Nemo ibi exceptus est qui de literis aut de bonis aut de republica bene merito sit, quibus me admixtum esse id vero serio triumpho. 'Burdonium' me vocant. Pater meus vocabatur Iulius Scaliger a Burden. Eo nomine 'a Burden' solo notus erat in Italia, ubi vocabatur 'Tonsus a Burden'. Is locus est in finibus Carnium, amplissimus sed sterilis, idque lingua illa 'desertum' significat.[5] Eius dominus aut dynasta erat Michael, patruelis patris mei. Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus scribens de poetis recentioribus dicit patrem meum 'Burdonium' vocatum fuisse.[6] Sane error est typographi. Nam cum pater meus vixerit in aula Alfonsi primi Ducis Ferrariae,[7] et nullo alio nomine fere vulgo notus esset quam 'Tonsi a Burden', Lilius, qui illum norat, non potuit ignorare ipsum 'Burdenium' non 'Burdonium' vocandum esse. Melchior Guillandinus, impudentissimus et nequissimus nebulo, quum rescivisset me in eius de papyro commentarium scripsisse,[8]

3 barbarismis] *correxi ex* barbarrismis *Ward 1* 4 syllabarum ~~fas~~ *Ward 1*

4 The work had been recently published by the Jesuit Carolus Scribanius under a pseudonym: *Clari Bonarscii Amphitheatrum honoris, in quo Calvinistarum in Societatem Iesu criminationes iugulatae*, Palaepoli Aduaticorum, apud A. Verheyden, 1605. It had, in fact, been printed in Antwerp.

5 'Carnes' are the inhabitants of 'Carnia'. According to Graesse, *Orbis Latinus*, 'Carnia' is the historical region and former duchy Krain in Austria, but Scaliger probably intends the neighbouring region in northern Italy, now part of the province of Udine. It covers the western and central part of the mountainous region of this province, including the Carnic Alps, and borders the Veneto and Austria (Carinthia). Compare Scaliger, *Secunda Scaligerana*, 1740, p. 246, *s. v.* 'Burdonius': 'Burden lingua Sclavonica, quam etiam pater loquebatur, significat "sterile" et "desertum".'

6 Scaliger's copy of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Dialogi duo de poetis nostrorum temporum*, Florence, 1551, appears in *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 24.

7 Alfonso I d'Este (1476–1534) was Duke of Ferrara from 1505.

8 Scaliger wrote a critical commentary on: Guillandinus, *Papyrus: hoc est commentarius in tria C. Plinii maioris de papyro capita*, Venice, apud M. Antonium Ulmum, 1572. Scaliger's copy of the book is recorded in the auction catalogue of his library (this letter, note 6), p. 26. It contains Scaliger's manuscript annotations, and is now in Cambridge University Library. For Scaliger's work, which remained unpublished until 1610, see A. Grafton, 'Rhetoric, Philology

ut de me supplicium sumeret, adscito in consilium spurcissimo porco Antonio Riccobono, confinxit literas cancellarias Academiae Patavinae quibus pater meus Iulius Caesar Burdonius, Benedicti Burdonii civis Veronensis filius augetur gradu medicinae. Ex illo dicto Lilii Giraldi suspicati sunt patrem meum, quia dicebatur Burdonius, non fuisse Scaligerum. Ex eo, literae illae ἀπὸ μηχανῆς precesserunt, quae illum mimum non solum in theatro Patavino actum significant, sed etiam impurissimae pecudi Roberto Titio communicantur; ab eo ad Loiolitas transmissa, in arenam illius *Amphitheatri* descenderunt, ut me cum Loiolitis θηριομαχοῦντα committerent.[9] Habes argumentum fabulae ὡς ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ.[10] Tu vero plaude. Sed meum est sycophantias istas omnes diluere, quod ut nostra maxime interest, ita certum est nos non neglecturos.[11]

De Novo Testamento Hirlandico, non cessabo aurem vellere.[12] Noli parcere precio: res statim solvetur. Meus Eusebius distributus est in duos typographos. Hoc modo poterit vernalibus nundinis prodire.[13] Laudabis κριομαχίαν meam

1 in ~~consilium~~ consilium *Ward 1* 2 cancellarias … Patavinae] *correxi ex* cancellariam academiam Patavino *Ward 1* 6 precesserunt] *correxi ex* precessent *Ward 1* 8 transmissa] *sic Ward 1* 15 κριομαχίαν] *correxit H.J. de Jonge ex* χριομαχίαν *Ward 1*

and Egyptomania in the 1570s: J.J. Scaliger's Invective against M. Guilandinus's Papyrus', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 42, 1979, pp. 167–194.

9 Ἀπὸ μηχανῆς: 'ex machina', 'by means of an intervention by the dramatist'. 'Me … θηριομαχοῦντα': 'me fighting with wild beasts'. Scaliger's imagery continues that of the amphitheatre.

10 Ὡς ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ: 'as if in a summary'.

11 Scaliger made this detailed defence of his ancestry in at least three other letters: Scaliger to Casaubon, 15 June 1605; Scaliger to Welser, 28 August 1605; Scaliger to Lipsius, 15 October 1605 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 59–65, 138–144, 197–201).

12 See Scaliger to Thomson, 9 August 1604: 'mihi dolor de Novo Testamento Hibernico incessit, quod plurimi fecerim nancisci'. Scaliger wants the first edition of the New Testament in Gaelic: *Tiomna Nuadh ar dTighearna agus ar Slanaightheora Iosa Criosd, ar na tarruing gu firinneach as Gréigis gu gáoioheilg, re hUilliam O Domhnuill*, [Dublin], 1602. For 'aurem vellere', see Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 640.

13 Scaliger's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, printed with the *Thesaurus temporum*, was published in 1606. The *Prolegomena* to the volume are dated 1 June 1606. It was printed by Thomas Basson, 'sumptibus Commelinorum'. For Basson's work, see J.A. van Dorsten, *Thomas Basson 1555–1613: English Printer at Leiden*, Leiden, 1961. Scaliger had written about the progress of the printing in his letter to Thomson of 9 August 1604.

cum Clavio.[14] Eum asinum ita ut meret accepimus, non sycophantice, ut Loiolitae solent, sed ἐπιστημόνικως καὶ ἀποδεικτικῶς.[15]

Vale.

III Nonas Septembris Iuliani M D CV.

Joseph Scaliger [Leiden] to Thomson [Cambridge?] 1 December 1605

COPY: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 897, fol. 234v.

PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 240, pp. 513–515.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 240, pp. 471–473.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 232–236.

DATE: The letter is dated 'XI Kalend. Decembris Iuliani', or 21 November, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 1 December. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

TEXT: The manuscript in Paris contains only the text of the postscript, from 'Aio tibi' to 'doctrina refertissimum'. This fragment was drawn from the *editio princeps*, or from its reprint of 1628, and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

NOTE: Scaliger wrote a letter to Johannes de Laet on the same day. He sent both to De Laet and asked him to forward the letter to

1 asinum ~~ut~~ *Ward I*

14 The Greek word χριομαχία is unattested. The noun κριομαχία, the emendation adopted, is likewise unattested, but the verb κριομαχέω, 'to fight with a battering-ram', occurs three times in Hero, *De strategematibus*, and once in Apollodorus, *Poliorcetica*. Christoph Clavius (d. 1612), a German Jesuit mathematician, laid the groundwork for the Gregorian calendar reform. Following Scaliger's criticisms of the new calendar, Clavius responded: *I. Scaligeri Elenchus, et castigatio calendarii Gregoriani a C. Clavio … castigata*, Rome, apud Aloysium Zanettum, 1595. Scaliger's own *Elenchus* against Clavius was printed the same year: *Canon Paschalis, cum Iosephi Scaligeri commentario. Excerpta ex computo Graeco Isacii Argyri de correctione Paschatis. Iosephi Scaligeri Elenchus et castigatio anni Gregoriani*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595. For Clavius, see J.M. Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo: Christoph Clavius and the Collapse of Ptolemaic Cosmology*, Chicago and London, 1994.

15 Ἐπιστημόνικως καὶ ἀποδεικτικῶς: 'using knowledge and constructing proofs'.

Thomson (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 231–232).

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger previously wrote to Thomson for information on the monstrous Lydiat. Two of Lydiat's books have reached Scaliger. He is no better than Christmann, whose work on the course of the sun has been refuted. Scaliger intends to make a public response to Lydiat, but needs to know more about him first. Jewish statements about textual corruption must be treated with caution. In the notes to his Eusebius, Scaliger shows that the claims of the Alexandrian Jews for the Septuagint are false. Scaliger does not believe that their friend's edition of Martial will ever appear. Printing—at the author's expense—is almost complete, and it might have been published years ago. Scaliger's Greek versions of many epigrams, arranged thematically, have been printed with it. Calvisius, a German scholar, has sent Scaliger a copy of his fine chronology, which was not printed in time for the autumn bookfair.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Accepi tuas literas, sed ante aliquot dies alias tibi scripsi ut scirem ex te quis sit Thomas Lidiat iste; quo monstro nullum portentosius in vestra Anglia natum puto, tanta est inscitia hominis et confidentia.[1] Ne semel quidem illi verum dicere accidit. Ut simiae quo turpiores, eo magis oblectant, ita iste nunquam magis mihi placet quam ubi aliquid παρακεκινδυνευμένον effutit.[2] Mirum vero tibi ignotum esse. Atqui aiunt illum quotidie aliquid muginari, et non pauca edidisse. Ex istis quoque nundinis incidit in manus meas eius *De planetis* scriptum, non melius, ut puto, quam illud de varia annorum forma.[3] Video illum

1 Thomson's letter to Scaliger has not survived. Scaliger's recent letter to Thomson, also lost, was sent in the middle of November with an extant letter to Johannes de Laet, dated 15 November 1605 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 220–222). For Lydiat, see P. Sherlock, 'Lydiat, Thomas (1572–1646)', ODNB, 2004, 34, pp. 848–849.

2 'Aliquid παρακεκινδυνευμένον': 'something rash'. The Greek word is an allusion to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 99.

3 The first book is: Lydiat, *Praelectio astronomica de natura coeli et conditionibus elementorum: tum autem de causis praecipuorum motuum coeli et stellarum. Item disquisitio philologica de origine fontium perennium*, London, J. Bill, 1605. The second is: Lydiat, *Tractatus de variis annorum formis usurpatis a gentibus quarum illustria fuerunt regna. … Quo passim … I. Scaligeri his de rebus opiniones minus probabiles, ac … C. Clavii … atque totius Collegii Mathematicorum Pontificiorum artificum novitii anni Gregoriani errores … redarguantur*, London, ex officina

unum me sibi proposuisse quem aemularetur, Christmannum quem imitaretur. Nam et ille caprimulgus Heydelbergensis aliquid de cursu solis vomuit,[4] quod statim a doctissimo mathematico confutatum est.[5] Denique miram ζηλοτυπίαν in nos toto suo scripto testatur et unum tantum Christmannum miratur.[6] Scire aveo quis sit, et ut in illam curam sedulo incumbas oro. Nam tribus verbis eius amentiam confutabo, quod non ex dignitate possum, nisi de hominis moribus, aetate, studio, arte et vita mihi constet.[7] Expecto ut quamprimum in hoc negotio mihi satisfacias. Interest enim reipublicae talia monstra profligari.[8] Etsi indigni sunt illi qui studia nostra morentur, propter imbecilliora tamen ingenia, quae facile novitate rerum moventur, hunc laborem non gravabimur neque infra dignitatem nostram esse putabimus ut omnia quae publicis commodis officere possunt de medio tollamus. Atque utinam nulla alia pateremur monstra, praeter ista quae uno ictu confici possunt! Sunt et alii in medio nostrum qui quod nomen magnum sibi iam apud imperitum vulgus scholasticorum pepererunt, sola auctoritate atque existimatione, non autem doctrinae aut veritatis praesidiis, nugas suas tuentur. Hae sunt literarum vomicae, quae ut plurimum latent, ita plus nocent.

Περὶ תקון סופרים, mihi constat non omnes locos quos Iudaei a veteribus criticis mutatos dicunt ab ipsis interpolatos fuisse.[9] Id facile probari potest.

18 תקון] *correxi ex* הקון *s-1627*

Nortoniana, 1605. This second book had been sent to Scaliger from England by De Laet: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 220–222.

4 Scaliger adopted 'caprimulgus' from Catullus, *Carmina*, 22.10. His edition of Catullus, first published in 1577, does not comment on the word.

5 For Jacob Christmann, see chapter 6, 'Germany, May 1592–April 1593'. Scaliger refers to the following work: *Observationum solarium libri tres. In quibus explicatur verus motus solis in Zodiaco: et universa doctrina triangulorum, ad rationes apparentium coelestium accomodatur*, Basle, impensis Lazari Zetzneri, 1601. A riposte was published the following year: *Danielis Miverii Apologia pro P. Lansbergio ad I. Christmannum: In qua prop. 16. lib. IV. triangulorum Lansbergii … itemque Regiomontani, Copernici, ac reliquorum praestantium mathematicorum doctrina a calumniis quas Christmannus lib. suo observationum solarium inseruit defenditur*, Middelburg, apud R. Schilders, 1602. Miverius' work appears in *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, eds, H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 16: 'Miverius pro Lansberg. contra Christman. Middelb. 1607'. The year '1607' is an error.

6 Ζηλοτυπίαν: 'jealousy', 'rivalry'.

7 Scaliger did so in the *Prolegomena* to the *Canones isagogici*, included in the *Thesaurus temporum*, Leiden, excudebat Thomas Basson, 1606, fols *iii v-*iv r.

8 That is, it is in the interest of the Republic of Letters.

9 The Hebrew ('tiqqun sopherim') means 'correction (singular) of the scribes'. The 'tiqqune (plural) sopherim' are the (traditionally) eighteen 'corrections of the scribes', changes made to the Hebrew text of the Bible to remove offensive or disrespectful passages. See C. McCarthy,

Unum fortasse aut alterum contaminarint, ut τὸ 'ὤρυξαν πόδας μοῦ, καὶ χεῖρας μοῦ'.[10] Nam quomodo hodie legitur, nullum commodum sensum concipiunt. Sic iidem Iudaei LXX interpretes locos multos in Graeca sua editione mutasse fabulantur, eosque in medium producunt qui tamen aliter leguntur hodie atque ad Hebraismum expressi sunt. Itaque in his non temere Iudaeis credendum. De hoc multa producere possem non vulgaria, quae fortasse meliori otio reservabo.[11] Quicquid vero Iudaei ἑλληνισταὶ Alexandrini de sua Graeca τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἑρμηνέων referunt,[12] 'madidis quae cantat Sostratus alis',[13] quam vana sint, ex tribus verbis quae reperies in Eusebianis nostris iudicare poteris.[14]

Martialem amici nostri nunquam prodituru spero.[15] Trium aut quatuor foliorum ad summum opus est ut absolvatur. Et tamen ante biennium si prodiisset, sero prodiisset. Quoties mihi deieravit se supremam manum operi additurum? Nullius magis quam eius intererat iam publicatum fuisse. Sumptibus enim eius editus est. Et quid moram hanc excusare possit, non video. Interpretatio nostra Graeca multorum, et quidem meliorum ac castiorum epigrammatum, una edita est. Opusculum in capita, instar ἀνθολογίας, spectaculorum, epitaphiorum, virorum, puerorum, foeminarum, et aliorum praeterea argumentorum digessimus, quae profecto tam indigna sunt latere quam Martialem ipsum.[16] Sed quid agas? Obstinatus obdurat.[17]

The Tiqqune Sopherim and Other Theological Corrections in the Masoretic Text of the Old Testament, Freiburg and Göttingen, 1981.

10 Ὤρυξαν πόδας μοῦ, καὶ χεῖρας μοῦ: 'they pierced my hands and my feet'; Psalm 21.16 in the Septuagint translation.

11 Scaliger published no work on this subject.

12 Ἑλληνισταὶ: 'Hellenistic'. Τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἑρμηνέων: 'of the seventy translators'.

13 Juvenal, *Satires*, X.178: 'madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis'.

14 Scaliger's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, printed as part of the *Thesaurus temporum*, was published in the summer of 1606.

15 The 'amicus' is Petrus Scriverius, who had been working on an edition of Martial since 1602. The edition was abandoned. For its fortunes, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

16 Ἀνθολογίας: 'a gathering of flowers', 'an anthology'. Scaliger's Greek versions from Martial were to have been an appendix to this edition. Scriverius distributed a limited number of copies of these versions: *Anthologia epigrammaton Martialis. Iosephus Scaliger, Iulii Caes. filius, vertit Graece, ad Isaacium Casaubonium V.C. Petrus Scriverius publicavit. Item alia eiusdem Scaligeri poematia, et iuveniles aliquot tralationes adiecit*, Leiden and Antwerp, excudebat Guyotius, typis Raphelengianis, 1603. This edition is very rare. The versions from Martial are also printed in Scaliger, *Poemata omnia, ex museio Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1615, part 2, pp. 5–82; Scaliger, *Poemata omnia*, Berlin, 1864, pp. 163–213.

17 An allusion to Catullus, *Carmina*, 8.11–12: 'Sed obstinata mente perfer, obdura. / Vale, puella. Iam Catullus obdurat'.

Sed vale.

XI Kalend. Decembris Iuliani M D CV.

Aio tibi doctissimum Germanum alias ignotum mihi, Sethum Calvisium, eximium chronicon rationibus nostris per omnia munitum edidisse, cuius exemplar ad me misit.[18] Non potuit ad nundinas produci, quia sub tempus ineuntium illarum prodiit. Solus ille optimus et eruditissimus vir repertus est qui inter chronologos nugari desiverit. Opus est praestantissimum, utilissimum et omni doctrina refertissimum. Vale iterum.

Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge?] 14 March 1606

PRINT: Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 241, pp. 516–517.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 241, pp. 473–475.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 348–351.

DATE: The letter is dated 'IV Nonas Martii Iuliani', or 4 March, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 14 March. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

TEXT: The edition of 1628 was set from that of 1627 and its variants are not recorded in the textual apparatus.

NOTE: Scaliger wrote to Johannes de Laet in England on the same day: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 347–348. It is likely that both letters used the same courier.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger thanks Thomson for sending Zonaras' commentary, and for refusing any payment. Scaliger is recovering from an

18 Calvisius' work had been published in September: *Chronologia, ex autoritate potissimum Sacrae Scripturae, et historicorum fide dignissimorum, ad motum luminarium coelestium, tempora et annos distinguentium, secundum characteres chronologicos contexta et deducta. Cui praemissa est Isagoge chronologica*, Leipzig, sumtibus I. Apelii, 1605. The letter with which is was sent to Scaliger is extant: Calvisius to Scaliger, 10 September 1605 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 158–162). For Calvisius, see NDB, 1956, 3, pp. 100–101; D. Döring, 'Sethus Calvisius als Chronologe', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 21, 1994, pp. 171–202; G. Schröder, ed. *Tempus musicae, tempus mundi: Untersuchungen zu Seth Calvisius*, Hildesheim, 2008.

illness, and can only deal briefly with Thomson's points about Galatino's book. It is a summary of Sebon's *Pugio*, often ridiculous, but sometimes useful. A copy of Sebon's book used to be held in the Collège de Foix in Toulouse. Galatino fails to acknowledge his debts. Scaliger will respond to Lydiat's book briefly. All the Jesuits are hostile to Scaliger. He disapproves of George Thomson's book against Lipsius. He wants to know what will happen to the Jesuits who have been arrested. His edition of Eusebius will be published shortly after the spring bookfair.

Richardo Thomsoni.

Commentarium Zonarae in Canones Apostolicos accepi, quo nomine gratias tibi ago, ne addam quod dupliciter me tibi devinxisti: tum quod librum a me frustra quaesitum tua opera nactus sum, tum quod etiam liberalitate tua, quandoquidem precium tibi refundi non vis.[1]

Scito autem, quum haec scriberem, adhuc ex languore qui me mensem obsidet nondum me recepisse, et aegre manum tremulam his pauculis exarandis suffecisse.[2] Quare et morbum excusabis et imbecillitatem, si neque longiores ad te scribo, neque ad ea quae de libro Galatini scribis respondeo.[3] Poteris

1 A few weeks earlier Scaliger had written to Johannes de Laet about this book: 'Ad Thomsonem postremis illis scripsi ut tibi τὰ τοῦ Ζωναρᾶ εἰς κανόνας ἀποστολικοὺς tradat' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 290–292). That earlier letter from Scaliger to Thomson has not survived. Scaliger has received a treatise on the Apostolical canons by the twelfth century Byzantine chronicler Joannes Zonaras (J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*, 161 vols, Paris, 1857–1866, 137, cols 35–218). Scaliger's copy is recorded in *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 3: 'Canones Apost. Concil. Sanct. latin. cum Balsamone. Paris. 1561'. Scaliger wrote his own treatise on the Apostolic Canons: see H.J. de Jonge, 'J.J. Scaliger's *De LXXXV Canonibus Apostolorum Diatribe*', *Lias*, 2, 1975, pp. 115–124.

2 Scaliger became ill in February and was recovering in March: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 341–342 347–348, 352–353, 358–361, 367–370.

3 Pietro Galatino (1460–1530) was an Italian Friar and Hebrew scholar. His most famous work had recently been reprinted in Germany: *Petri Galatini opus de Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis. Hoc est, In omnia difficilia loca Veteris Testamenti, ex Talmud aliis Hebraicis libris ... contra Iudaeorum perfidiam ... commentarius*, [Frankfurt], apud haeredes A. Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioannem Aubrium, 1603. Scaliger said: 'Ego habeo P. Galatinum primae editionis in Regno Neapolitano' (*Secunda Scaligerana*, 1740, p. 529, *s. v.* 'Raymundus'). However, the

notare locum quem designas. Nam in fine operis sui multa obtorto collo[4] de sacramento carnis et sanguinis Christi proponit Galatinus, quae adeo aliena a proposito eius sunt ut indigna sint quibus etiam legendis opera detur. Perplurima inepta, futilia et sublesta eiusmodi in illo opere sunt, alioquin in quibusdam utili, addo etiam necessario, sed quod non temere, nec sine delectu tractandum. Est epitome ingentis operis, cui nomen, *Pugio fidei adversus Iudaeos*, auctore Raimundo Sebon, Dominicano qui ante CCXXX plus minus annos Tolosae vivebat, eiusque ingens opus ante aliquot annos in Collegio Foxensi Tolosano extabat, et adhuc extare puto. Quare ingratus fuit Galatinus iste Franciscanus, qui ne semel quidem nomen Raimundi Sebon memoravit, quum, ut dixi, liber Galatini nihil aliud quam breviarium *Pugionis* Raimundi Sebon sit.[5]

De Lidiat non possum tibi paucis narrare quanta hominis imperitia, stultitia, confidentia sit.[6] Coniicienti oculos in eius librum statim suboluit inscitia hominis. Sed hoc nihil est, praeut quae in discutiendo eius libro aperui. Non est similis morio in orbe terrarum. Paucis asinitatem eius perstringam, ut lector rideat. Nam in tam prodigiose imperitum scarabeum scribere, neque nostrae dignitatis est, neque otii.[7] Ridebit lector, certe scio.

Omnem Loiolitarum σφηκιὰν in me concitavi.[8] Neque hoc satis erat, nisi nostri instituti hominum proterviam nescio quo fato meo experirer.[9] Legi Georgii Thomsonii Scoti ea quae in Lipsium magis aemulatione quam veritatis amore scripsit.[10] Agnosco doctrinam in homine, sed modestiam requiro.

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19 hominum] *om. s-1627, correxit in erratis*

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auction catalogue of Scaliger's library (this letter, note 1), p. 3, records only the recent Frankfurt edition: 'Pet. Galatinus cum Cabala Capnionis Franc. 1603'.

4 See Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 3850: 'obtorto collo'.

5 In fact, the *Pugio fidei* was the work of the Catalan Dominican theologian Raymundus Martinus, or Ramón Martín (13th century). Raymond Sebon, or Ramón Sibiuda (d. 1436), was a later Catalan theologian and author of the *Theologia naturalis*. Sibiuda's work was translated into French by Michel de Montaigne in 1568. For the former, see *Raymundi Martini ... Pugio Fidei ... cum observationibus Iosephi de Voisin, et introductione Io. Benedicti Carpzovi*, Leipzig, 1687 (facsimile Farnborough, 1967); for the latter, see J. de Puig, *La filosofia de Ramon Sibiuda*, Barcelona, 1997.

6 For Thomas Lydiat (1572–1646) and Scaliger's reaction to his work, see Scaliger to Thomson, 1 December 1605.

7 For 'scarabeus', see Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 3794: 'Scarabeo citius persuaseris'; 'De iis qui malis assueverant, a quibus tamen revocari non possunt'.

8 Σφηκιὰν: 'wasps' nest'. Compare Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 1973: 'in apes irruisti'.

9 'Nostri instituti' means 'of our profession', 'of our rank'.

10 George Thomson, *Vindex veritatis: Adversus Iustum Lipsium libri duo. Prior insanam eius*

De Iesuitis iam deprehensis avet scire animus quid fiet.[11] De quibus omnibus, quid actum fuerit ex te libenter didicero. Meus Eusebius non quidem his nundinis prodibit; non longe tamen post nundinas mittetur tibi.[12] Sed quid ago? Breviores me scripturum promiseram, et ecce iam opisthographum mitto.[13]

Vale.

Lugduni Batavorum, IV Nonas Martii Iuliani M D CVI. In summo languore scripsi.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 10 June 1606

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 245$^{r–v}$.

ADDRESS: Clarissimo Praestantissimoque / viro / Isaaco Casaubono / Parisios.

NOTE: The present letter was sent with Thomson's letter to De Laet of 10 June 1606. It may also have been sent with a lost letter from Thomson to Charles Labbé in Paris: see below, note 5. The package may have been entrusted to Théodore Turquet de Mayerne.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson hopes, God willing, to be able to explain the interruption of their correspondence in person. Meanwhile, he says that a letter he sent in the spring was returned undeliv-

religionem politicam, fatuam nefariamque de fato, sceleratissimam de fraude doctrinam refellit. Posterior Ψευδοπαρθένου Sichemiensis, id est, idoli Aspricollis, et deae ligneae miracula convellit. Uterque Lipsium ad orco gentilismum revocasse docet, London, 1606. Scaliger had asked for this book in his letter to De Laet of 2 February 1606; he disapproved of it in Scaliger to De Laet, 14 March 1606 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 290–292; 347–348). Scaliger's copy of Thomson's *Vindex* is recorded in the auction catalogue of his library (this letter, note 1), p. 30.

11 Scaliger is asking after the fate of the Catholic conspirators involved in the Gunpowder Plot. He asked the same question in Scaliger to De Laet, 14 March 1606 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 347–348). He had received an account of the plot from De Laet by January 1606 (ibid., p. 264). Most of the conspirators were executed in January 1606, but the English Jesuit Henry Garnet was not executed until May.

12 Scaliger's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, printed as part of the *Thesaurus temporum*, was published in the summer of 1606 and was consequently not on sale at the spring bookfair in Frankfurt.

13 No autograph of the present letter survives to confirm that Scaliger used both sides of the sheet.

ered. Another letter written the previous November was also returned undelivered: Thomson had entrusted it to a courier who reached Paris without the letter, and returned suddenly to England on the death of a friend. It is a comfort that Thomson recovered them both unopened. Casaubon recently wrote that he intended to ask Scaliger about some passages in his *Elenchus Serarii*, and Thomson would like to have Scaliger's response. He is glad that Casaubon is going to edit Polybius, a task assigned to him by the King. Thomson reminds Casaubon that he needs Flaminio Nobili's book for his own work. Turquet de Mayerne will inform Casaubon of other news from England.

Clarissimo praestantissimoque viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Nisi iustas caussas non quidem deserti sed tantum intermisi officii mei adferre possem, praestantissime Casaubone, ne nunc quidem silentii mei patrocinium darem. Expectassem enim donec id coram licuisset. Cuius sane rei, magna mihi spes adfulsit. O faxit Ille ne qua negociorum inanium nubes illam obducat! Atque hoc quidem proximo mense scibis.[1]

Interim silentii mei caussas cognosce, cuius haec mihi propria est, quod toto Februario, Martio, Aprili abfuerim profectus in Ordovices.[2] Unde sub nundinarum Francofurtensium tempus literas ad te, adiuncto munusculo uxori et Philippae, miseram.[3] Sed illa, sive mercatorum negligentia, sive quod serius Londinum perlata fuerant, ad te non pervenerunt, sed advenienti mihi reddita sunt.[4] Mense Novembre ociosissime ad te scripseram.[5] Illum qui eas ferebat ambitiose tibi commendaram. Sed vide quid factum sit. Ille quidem ad vos

6 negociorum] *sic* LBL 13 ociosissime] *sic* LBL ‖ scripseram. ~~xx Labbaeus~~ LBL 14 ~~vobis~~ \tibi/ LBL

1 Thomson did not visit Casaubon in Paris. For his disappointment, see Thomson to Casaubon, 15 July 1606.

2 By which Thomson seems to mean Wales in general. His purpose there is unknown.

3 The gift sent to Casaubon's wife Florence and to Casaubon's daughter Philippa has not been identified. Many years before, he had sent them gloves: see Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594.

4 This undelivered letter from Thomson to Casaubon from the spring of 1606 has not survived.

5 The next words in the manuscript, thoroughly deleted by Thomson, seem to refer to Charles Labbé (Labbaeus). Thomson may have sent a lost letter to Labbé in Paris with the present letter: see Thomson to Casaubon, 15 July 1606.

venit, sed quia literae meae una cum suis et sociorum reculis in via haeserant, noluit sine iis ad te visere. Dum expectat illas, nescio quis amicorum hic moritur, domum revocatur, redit et literas in itinere repertas bona fide mihi reddit.[6]

Quid ego hic facerem, termaxime Casaubone? Sane hoc uno laetabar, quod illae nobis non perierant. Liberius enim paullo ad te scripseram de quibusdam quae alias fortasse coram et in aurem. Habes veras, et, scio, iustas silentii mei caussas, quas procul dubio probabis, et statim omnia alia suspicari desines. Nulla enim re fieri posse credas ut frigusculum ullum amoris tui, et admirationis in animum meum admittam. Et praeterea, ut dicam quod res est, rara occasio mittendi ad vos nobis offertur. Cursores enim, priusquam me verterim, discedunt.

Dicebas in penultimis tuis quaedam esse in Scaligeri adversus Serarium libello quae extra controversiam non sunt, et quidem ἐν τοῖς καιριωτάτοις, et de iis consulturum te oraculum illius.[7] Quaeso te, per amicitiam nostram, optime virorum, ne ista nobis invideas. Sine ut per te quoque eius doctrina et iudicio plenius perfruamur. Itaque illa, qualia qualia erunt, ad nos transmitte.

Gratulor reipublicae literariae quod tandem serio de Polybii editione cogitare caeperis. Narrabat mihi nobilissimus ille et doctissimus vir qui novissimas tuas attulit,[8] a Christianissimo Rege hoc tibi munus impositum.[9] O candidum illum diem, qui tam erudita sindone cultum Polybium nobis primus ostendet! Scio maioris momenti opus nondum prodiisse. O Deus te sospitet, mi Casaubone!

De Nobilio Flaminio iterum aurem tibi vello;[10] omnino enim eo invento mihi opus est. Nescis quantum studia nostra moretur, quod illum tam diu frustra

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6 This undelivered letter from Thomson to Casaubon written in November 1605 has not survived, and its unfortunate courier has not been identified.

7 Ἐν τοῖς καιριωτάτοις: 'in particularly important parts'. This last-but-one letter from Casaubon to Thomson has not survived. Thomson refers to Scaliger's work printed in: *I. Drusii responsio ad Serarium de tribus sectis Iudaeorum. Accessit I. Scaligeri Elenchus Trihaeresii N. Serarii*, Franeker, 1605. For the composition of Scaliger's *Elenchus*, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 372–373. For its target, the Jesuit Serarius (1558–1609), see ADB, 1892, 34, pp. 36–37.

8 Casaubon's recent letter has not come to light. The courier may have been Théodore Turquet de Mayerne: see this letter, note 12.

9 The 'Christianissimus Rex' is Henri IV of France. This substantial task may have been given to Casaubon in order to keep him from writing on theology. The edition was dedicated to Henri IV when it was published in 1609: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609.

10 Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 640: 'aurem vellere'.

quaerimus.[11] De rebus nostris publicis potuisti a Turquetto cognoscere, itaque non est quod tempus teram.[12] Deum oro uti res tuas privatas sartas tectas servet ingratiis inimicorum omnium.

Vale, et lectissimae uxori, liberis, amicissimam salutem.

Cantebrigiae, IV Eid. Iunii M D CVI.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Johannes de Laet [London] 10 June 1606

AUTOGRAPH: Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10364 (Collectio Camerariana, vol. 14), no. 666.

ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur De Laet / À / Amsterdam.

NOTE: The present letter is addressed to Amsterdam, but De Laet appears to be in London. It was no doubt sent with Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 10 June 1606. Both letters must have first travelled from Cambridge to London, and both may have been entrusted to Théodore Turquet de Mayerne.

On the envelope is written 'in Fanchurch street', a later addition in Thomson's hand. The addition may indicate a London address via which correspondence with De Laet might be sent. More likely, it indicates that Thomson discovered that De Laet was still in London after the letter was sealed but before it was sent. Another hand, probably De Laet's, has written on the envelope 'respondi XIX Iun.' This reply has not come to light, but the fact that it was written so quickly suggests that De Laet was indeed in still in England. For De Laet's relations with

11 Thomson refers to Flaminio Nobili (1532–1590), an Italian theologian who supervised the printing of the Sixtine edition of the Latin Vulgate Bible. Thomson is unlikely to have asked after that work with such urgency, so the edition in question must be: *Vetus Testamentum secundum lxx Latine redditum et ex auctoritate Sixti v Pont. Max. editum. Additus est index dictionum et loquutionum Hebraicarum, Graecarum, Latinarum*, Rome, in aedibus Populi Romani, apud G. Ferrarium, 1588. The indices of this book would have been valuable for Thomson's work translating the Old Testament into English.

12 Théodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1654/55), a Swiss-born physician, who was educated in Geneva and Montpellier while Casaubon was teaching in both cities. Mayerne visited England in the spring of 1606 in the company of Baron Francis Norreys of Rycote. Mayerne was presented to the King, treated the Queen, and was subsequently incorporated M.D. at the University of Oxford on 8 April 1606. For his life, see H. Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne*, New Haven and London, 2006.

Thomson in general, see chapter 21, 'Johannes de Laet, 1603–1606'.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson asks De Laet to forward some letters to Leiden. He has learned that Scaliger's Eusebius has been published, and is eager to see it. If De Laet can procure him a copy, he will send whatever it costs to De Laet's father-in-law. De Laet is now in a position to ask Scaliger about the publication of Julius Caesar Scaliger's work on Aristotle, and Thomson enquires about the meaning of three passages in the New Testament.

Iohanni Latio suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Antiquum ut vides obtineo, mi Lati, et quomodo pridem caepi, pergo familiariter te uti. Quaeso te, ne graveris literas has tuo Lugdunum Batavorum mittere.[1] Ego hic rationem nullam inire possum qua tuo deferantur. Quo minus indignari debes, si ad te venio. Nunquam in simili officio tibi deero.

Scaligeri Eusebium tam avide expectamus ut nihil supra. Ex Commelinianorum literis potuimus intelligere iam prodiisse, quo magis fames nostra accenditur.[2] Vide quo periculo versemur. Da ergo operam ne, priusquam ille ad nos deferatur, fame enecemur. Lentum negocium est, si mihi expectandum sit donec exemplaria ad bibliopolas mittantur. Non recuso quosvis sumptus facere, dummodo quam citissime mihi curetur. Quicquid expensarum erit, socero tuo id omne bona fide refundam.

Sed heus tu! Meministi sermonum quos novissimos habuimus? Vide ergo ut bene viaticatus ad nos redeas, neque committas ut culpa tua cimeliorum Scaligeri quicquam pereat.[3] Iam potes eum de multis locis Novi Testamenti

9 negocium] *sic MSB*

1 The letters which Thomson was sending to Leiden seem to have been lost. His correspondents there included Bonaventura Vulcanius, Joseph Scaliger, Petrus Scriverius and Dominicus Baudius.

2 Copies of Scaliger's long-awaited edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, printed as part of Scaliger's *Thesaurus temporum*, were not distributed until July 1606. The *Prolegomena*, addressed to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, are dated 1 June 1606. Thomson acquired a copy over the following months for by October, Scaliger was asking De Laet for Thomson's opinion of it (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 571–572). In fact, Scaliger probably sent Thomson a copy about 13 July 1606, when he sent another to De Laet (ibid., 6, pp. 465–467). There is no extant correspondence between Thomson and the Commelini.

3 Thomson has recently spoken in person with De Laet and learned that he intended to travel to the Low Countries soon. The word 'cimelia' is from the Greek κειμήλια, 'treasures'.

convenire, potes de aliis. Aveo scire quid factum sit commentariis magni Caesaris Scaligeri ad *Historias* Aristotelis. Sexennium est, et quod excurrit, ex quo eorum nobis spes facta est. Scribe, quaeso, an expectare eos brevi possimus.[4] Bene facies si de voce ἐπιούσιος quae extat in oratione dominica, paullo curiosius inquiras;[5] item quid sint ἀντιλήψεις 1 Cor. 12.28?[6] Quid ψήφος λευκή in Apocalypsi 2.17?[7] Sed quid te moror, qui sponte propria haec praecepisti.

Vale, mi optime et doctissime Lati, et me quod facis ama.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. IV Eid. Iunii M D CVI.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 15 July 1606

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 247$^{r–v}$.

ADDRESS: Clarissimo Praestantissimoque / viro / Isaaco Casaubono / Parisios.

NOTE: The envelope, from which the address is drawn, appears to be London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 250.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson regrets that his planned visit to Casaubon, Gruter and Scaliger must be deferred until autumn next year. Thomson's recent letter explained the interruption in his correspondence with Casaubon. He has seen the title of a Jesuit work against Casaubon in the latest catalogue, and has nothing but contempt for such authors. He advises Casaubon not to respond directly, but casually as if in passing, while writing on other matters. Thomson asks about progress on Casaubon's edition of Polybius, and would like an explanation of an obscure turn of phrase in Aristotle. He sends his regards to Casaubon's family. He has not written again to Labbé, but sends his best wishes to him and his brother.

5 λευκή] *i. m.* MSB

4 Thomson had long wanted this work, but was to be disappointed: see Scaliger to Thomson, 5 July 1600, note 6.

5 Ἐπιούσιος: 'daily' in the King James version (Matthew 6.11; Luke 11.3). The meaning of this word in the Lord's Prayer was much debated.

6 Ἀντιλήψεις: 'helps' in the King James version (1 Cor. 12.28).

7 Ψήφος λευκή: 'a white stone' in the King James version (Revelation 2.17). De Laet evidently put these three questions to Scaliger in a letter, and they were duly answered in a letter written in July 1606: Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 465–467.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Heu quanta de spe excidi, mi Casaubone! Nam qui secreto et inexpectato ad te, Gruterum, et magnum Scaligerum excurrere his auctumnalibus nundinis decreveram, et iam adeo in procinctu eram, nescio quo malo fato meo ex fuga retractatus sum, et plane alio diversus. Usque adeo incerta sunt consiliorum omnia. Ergo propositum itineris illius in proximum auctumnum reieci. Qui, oro, felicissimus mihi hoc saltem nomine illucescat. Neque enim quicquam optatius mihi accidere posse arbitror.[1]

Nuper ociose ad te scripsi, et silentii mei patrocinium dedi, quod puto satisfecisse frigusculo illi quod videbaris concepisse.[2] Profecto, domine, ita te habere velim, nihil esse quod ego prae Casaubono meo et Scaligero tantilli faciam. Itaque invito mihi accidit, si quando officium meum erga vos desero.

His nundinis quomodo vos exceperint Loiolitarum quidam, ego ex catalogo tantum scire potui: sacerrimos ipsos libros videre non contingit, credo quia Londino absum.[3] Nam mictilis illa merx raro ad nos deferri solet. Ex Batavia ipsis virgidemiam minantur. Et sane merentur qui rabiosorum canum more tractentur. Homines enim eos vocare non debeo, qui humani nihil in animis et scriptis prae se ferunt. Odium, contemptum, zelotypiam, mendacia apertissima adferunt, alia si qua sunt, a vobis et similibus emendicata et compilata sunt omnia. Quid his facias, mi Casaubone? Respondere huiusmodi nebulonibus est optimas horas pessime collocare. Nescio enim an quicquam profeceritis, ubi omnia egeritis. Et tamen silentio omnia transmittenda non sunt. Itaque auctor fuerim ut tanquam aliud agentes reponatis, si quid rescribendum duxeritis. Alia enim eorum ratio habenda non est. Hoc profecto est quod Patres illi agunt, ne tempus, quod gravioribus et ipsis invidendis studiis impenditis, id

10 ociose] *sic* LBL 26 ne] *correxi ex* ut LBL

1 Thomson spoke of his projected visit to the continent in his letter to Casaubon of 10 June 1606. The visit, deferred to the autumn of 1607, never took place. Thomson had planned to visit Casaubon in Paris in 1600–1601, but that visit never took place, for reasons which remain unclear.

2 Thomson refers to his recent letter to Casaubon, dated 10 June 1606.

3 Casaubon was aware of an impending attack on him by the Jesuit Caspar Schoppe in May 1606: see Casaubon to Scaliger, 30 May 1606 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 422–425). Schoppe's work, however, was not published. The following year, Casaubon wrote to Scaliger on 5 May: 'adhuc liber in me scriptus supprimitur, cuius primum folium, Moguntiae editum, vidi ante annum' (ibid., 7, p. 147).

totum vobis respondendis his scurris pereat.[4] Sed quid ago, qui haec ad te virum consultissimum?

De Polybio tuo quid factum sit aveo scire.[5] Sed quod iam commodum in mentem venit. Rogo te per amicitiam nostram, vir praestantissime, atque adeo obnixe rogo, ne graveris docere me cur Aristoteles formas rerum τὸ τὶ ἦν εἶναι appellet?[6] Unde hic loquendi mos? Quae grammatica? Quomodo Latine reddendum? Nam quid malum est, 'quod quid erat esse' etc! Ego rationem eius phrasis nulla ratione intelligere possum. Quare iterum atque iterum te obsecro, magne doctor, uti quod super ea re annotasti, id benigne communicare mecum ne dedigneris. Minerval referes animi huius, tui, ut scis, semper observatissimi veros et sinceros affectus. Interim te, cum tuis omnibus, lectissima coniuge et suavissimis liberis, Deo optimo maximo assiduo commendo. O Ille vos salvos et incolumes praestet!

Vale, vir praestantissime, et me quod facis, ama.

Non scripsi domino Labbaeo, quia postremae meae argumentum scribendi, quod erat, occuparunt.[7] Si istic sit, salvere eum et fratrem iubebis.[8]

Cantebrigiae, a. d. Eid. Iulii M D CVI.

Thomson (Suffolk) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 21 July 1607

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 248r–v.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo et praestantissimo / viro / Isaaco Casaubono. / Parisios.
NOTE: The envelope, from which the address is drawn, appears to be London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 249.

4 Thomson's sentence requires 'ne' rather than the 'ut' of the autograph. When he wrote 'ut' he apparently intended to finish it in a different way.

5 Casaubon's edition of Polybius was not published until 1609: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609.

6 Τὸ τὶ ἦν εἶναι: the phrase recurs in Aristotle and is usually translated 'essence'.

7 That is, because Thomson's most recent letter has said all that needs to be said. Thomson's recent letter to Labbé may have been sent with Thomson to Casaubon, 10 June 1606, *q. v.*

8 For Thomson's connections with the brothers Charles and Pierre Labbé (Labbaeus), see chapter 19, 'Visitors to Cambridge'. In 1606, Charles was in Paris and in close contact with Casaubon.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson's intention to visit Casaubon has been frustrated by the early departure of Rimé. Thomson had long planned and eagerly anticipated the visit, but there will be other occasions. The conflicts in Europe are subsiding, although the Jesuits are likely to cause further eruptions. Heinsius' defence of Scaliger is a fine piece of work. Schoppe or some other venemous polemicist will soon respond. Del Rio's work attacking Scaliger, and another attacking Casaubon, are imminent, but only worthless men will read them. The attempt to liken Casaubon to Despauterius—a grammarian whom Thomson studied as a schoolboy under Vulcanius—is absurd. Thomson would like to read what Casaubon has written against Baronius. The Catholics Blackwell and Wright have been imprisoned in the Tower. Casaubon may write to Thomson via the ambassador. Thomson sends his regards to Casaubon's family.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono Richardus Thomson s. d.

Vide quam inique mecum actum sit, praestantissime Casaubone. Constitueram omnino his nundinis σὺν τῷ Θεῷ ad vos proficisci, et nihil tale expectantem te subito meo adventu opprimere.[1] Sed properantia amicissimi Iacobi Rimaei bibliopolae, quicum de toto itinere convenerat, factum est ut ego hic ruri relinquerer, et equum, quem sane insignem in eum finem dono acceperam, hero suo reddere coactus fuerim.[2] Quam aegre hoc mihi fuerit, illi abunde testari possunt, qui non uno vultu legentem me literas Rimaei viderunt, quibus de tempore discessus sui certiorem me faciebat, et tu, sat scio, facile coniicere, qui quo animo adversum te sim, et fuerim plane perspectum habes.[3]

3 proficisci] *correxi ex* profisci LBL

1 Σὺν τῷ Θεῷ: 'with God', 'God willing'.

2 For the bookseller James Rimé (Rimius, Rimaeus), stepson of Ascanius de Renialme (d. 1600), see J. Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', in J. Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV: 1557–1695*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 141–173, pp. 158–160.

3 Thomson had planned to visit the continent, and Casaubon in Paris, at the time of the autumn bookfair in Frankfurt in 1606: see Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 10 June and 16 July 1606. This plan came to nothing, and he made another to visit at the time of the autumn bookfair in 1607. Thomson talks of the failure of this second plan in the present letter.

Profecto, mi Casaubone, ex quo postremas tuas legi, hoc tantum iter apud me diu noctuque versavi.[4] Quo magis crucior tam bene inita et perfecta consilia mea, tam turpiter periisse. Bone Deus quanta de spe decidi! Iam totus videbar mihi in amplexus tuos ruere, et exosculari Deo et bonis omnibus carum caput,[5] iam de studiis tuis, iam de aliis illis in adversa epistola tua pagina suaviter confabulari, denique Polybium tuum a prelo madentem hisce manibus attrectare.[6] Iam de aspectu lectissimae coniugis, et suavissimorum liberorum tuorum taceo, quos vita hac cariores habeo. Hoc tantum hic usurpabo, quod ille ait: 'Ingentes stupent'.[7] Interim hoc me consolabor, quod non una tantum modo sit ad vos veniendi occasio, et quod eadem saepius, et non semel tantum sese offerat.[8] Itaque quod hodie factum non est, cur cras fieri posse desperem? Tantum Deum oro ut te tuosque omnes salvos et incolumes praestet.

Vides ut tempestas Belgica desaevierit, ut alibi quoque omnia ad tranquillitatem spectent.[9] Sed idem considera Loiolitas ceu ventos quosdam subterraneos luctantes inclusos esse. Non possunt coerceri tali carcere, quippe quibus omnia illa competant, quae Aristoteles terram moventibus flatibus attribuit.[10]

Vidisti procul dubio doctissimi Heynsii nostri incomparabilem *Panegyricum*.[11] Non possum tibi narrare quantum eum hanc solam ob caussam amem, quod eos publice ausus sit provocare, et caussam divini senis in se suscipere.[12]

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9 stupent ~~et dxsxt pxxxlx~~ *LBL*

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4 This letter from Casaubon has not come to light. The most recent extant letter is Casaubon to Thomson, 4 February 1602.

5 For 'carum caput', 'a beloved person', see Vergil, *Aeneid*, IV.354 and Horace, *Carmina*, I.24.2. The phrase corresponds to φίλη κεφαλή in Homer.

6 Casaubon's edition of Polybius was in preparation, but not published until 1609: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609.

7 Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 607: 'Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent'.

8 Thomson never visited Casaubon in Paris.

9 Military activity in the Dutch revolt had recently paused after years of fierce fighting.

10 Several ancient philosophers, including Aristotle, attributed earthquakes to the movement of air trapped beneath the earth. See Aristotle, *Meteorology*, II.7–8. For Renaissance views on the causes of earthquakes, see also G. Passannante, 'The Art of Reading Earthquakes: On Harvey's Wit, Ramus's Method, and the Renaissance of Lucretius', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61, 2008, pp. 792–832.

11 Daniel Heinsius, *Panegyricus illustri viro Iosepho Scaligero dictus*, [Leiden], ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1607.

12 The 'divinus senex' is Joseph Scaliger.

Non diu aut procul erit quaerendus adversarius. Inveniet Scioppium, aut similem nebulonem aliquem, qui contra retiarium hunc ferula paedagogica convitiorum et calumniarum audeat.[13] Tales enim in vivariis suis alunt patres illi percisi, qui omnia bonorum auctorum scripta et monimenta pervolvant ut venena ad maledicendum et audacter calumniandum inde colligant.

Expectatur satis spissum volumen Del Rio adversus Scaligerum; expectantur alia adversus te.[14] Sed quis leget, nisi auctorum socii, et similes gemini germani, homines perditi, et profligati?[15] Tam enim inhumana illa omnia sunt ut hominem, qui reapse et non nomine aut figura tantum homo est, a sui lectione ipsis titulis absterreant. Sed tu mi Casaubone denuo illum *Panegyricum* perlege, et mutato nomine de te dici existima. Risi cum de Despauterio nescio quid memorares.[16] Grammaticus mihi valde notus, et quem olim sub Vulcanio, nisi fallor, Antuerpiae didici.[17] Qui te in illo quaerat, nunquam inveniet quod pueri in

13 The language of the amphitheatre may be adopted here in response to the metaphor used by the Jesuit polemicist Carolus Scribanius in his scurrilous *Amphitheatrum honoris*, published under a pseudonym in 1605. A second, revised, edition was printed in 1606: *Clari Bonarscii Amphitheatrum honoris: in quo Calvinistarum in Societatem Iesu criminationes iugulatae*, Palaeopoli Aduaticorum, apud Alexandrum Verheyden, 1606. The work was in fact printed in Antwerp, perhaps by Joachim Trognesius.

14 Martín Antonio Del Rio (1551–1608), a Jesuit theologian, for whom see J. Machielsen: *Martin Del Rio: Demonology and Scholarship in the Counter-Reformation*, Oxford, 2015. The work noticed in the present letter was published before the end of the year: *Vindiciae Areopagiticae Martini Del Rio, Societatis Iesu sacerdotis et theologiae doctoris: Contra Iosephum Scaligerum Iulii f.*, Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1607. The work against Casaubon was never published: see Thomson to Casaubon, 15 July 1606, note 3.

15 Compare Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 1082: 'nam nisi me animus fallit, hi sunt gemini germani duo'.

16 Johannes Despauterius (d. 1520) was a Flemish grammarian whose works were studied by young students of Latin. The substance of the accusation is made clearer in Thomson to Casaubon, 13 December 1607: 'Miror quid Alastores illi nunc dicturi sint, qui praeter Despauterium te nihil in vita legisse palam scribere non erubuerunt'. The thrust of the attack seems to have been that Casaubon was a mere grammarian, like Despauterius, unqualified to deal with great matters.

17 This passing recollection places Thomson, who was born in Antwerp, as a student in the city during Vulcanius' time there. Vulcanius arrived in Antwerp in 1577 and became secretary to Filips van Marnix, Lord of Sint-Aldegonde. He was quickly appointed Rector of the Latin School in Antwerp, and it was probably in this capacity that he taught Thomson. In 1578 he was appointed professor of Greek at the University of Leiden, but did not take up the post until 1581. See NNBW, 1911–1937, 10, cols 1144.

faba.[18] Ego laetari soleo quoties illi patres tam splendide mentiri audent, et satis tibi vindiciarum in tali mendacio esse existimo.[19]

Audio te nescio quid contra Baronium emisisse, idque indicante Scaligero et aliis Batavis quos hic nuper conveni.[20] Ego talento non amiserim illius scripti lectionem. Quare nisi tu titulum libri indicaveris, quod ut facias oro, recta ad Scaligerum et Batavos meos petitum ibo, neque frustra feres tam veteris amicitiae ius violasse.

Vale et me, quod facis ama, ego te aeternum. Deus te sospitet.

Ex Suffolcia Nicenorum,[21] a. d. XII Kal. Augusti Iuliani M D CVII.

Dico tibi Archipresbyterum Blackwell et Provincialem Iesuitarum recenter creatum Wrightum captos esse et in Turri detineri.[22] Si quid te dignum erit,

9 Nicenorum] *sic* LBL

18 Compare Plautus, *Aulularia*, 5.11: 'LY: Quid repperisti? ST: Non quod pueri clamitant, / In faba se repperisse'; Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 1886: 'Inveni, non quod pueri in faba'.

19 Thomson picks up the word 'vindicae' from the title of Del Rio's book, which he has seen in the autumn catalogue of the Frankfurt bookfair: *Catalogus novus nundinarum autumnalium, Francofurti ad Moenum anno MDCVII*, Augsburg, David Francken, 1607, sig. A4v.

20 The 'Batavi' or Dutchmen whom Thomson has recently met have not been identified, although they may have included Johannes de Laet. The *Annales ecclesiastici* of Cardinal Caesar Baronius (d. 1607) were a monumental history of the church from the earliest times. For his life, see A. Pincherle, 'Baronio, Cesare', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 6, 1964, pp. 470–478. Casaubon would later begin a great work dissecting Baronius' claims in this work, the first part of which was published in 1614. The work of which Thomson has heard rumours is Casaubon, *De libertate ecclesiastica liber singularis. Ad viros politicos qui de controversia inter Paulum V Pontificem maximum et rempublicam Venetam, edoceri cupiunt*, [Paris?], 1607. The work ends abruptly and was never completed. For its suppression, see Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 194–196. Thomson thanked Casaubon for a copy in his letter to Casaubon of 13 December 1607.

21 Thomson probably intended to write 'Icenorum', as he did in his letters to Casaubon of 24 May 1608 ('Suffolciae Icenorum'), 7 July 1608 ('ex Icenis Suffolck.'), and 5 August 1609 ('ex Icenis Norfolciae'). Camden stated that the British tribe of the Iceni occupied an area which included Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire (*Britannia, sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio*, London, impensis Georgii Bishop et Ioannis Norton, 1607, pp. 329–370).

22 The Archpriest George Blackwell (1547–1613) had been arrested in June 1607. He had taken the oath of allegiance to James I on 4 July. His insistence that the oath was consistent

scibis. Potes opera domini legati cum voles ad nos scribere.[23] Ego nusquam abero. Iterum vale, et lectissimae uxori et suavissimae dominae Philippae osculum et salutem.[24]

Joseph Scaliger (Leiden) to Thomson [Cambridge?] 1 October 1607

PRINT: Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1610, pp. 436–439.
Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1612, pp. 293–296.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1627, no. 242, pp. 517–520.
Scaliger, *Epistolae*, 1628, no. 242, pp. 475–478.
Crenius, *Analecta philologico-critico-historica*, Amsterdam, sumptibus T. Myls, 1699, pp. 383–386.
Crenius, *Analecta philologico-critico-historica*, Amsterdam, apud Janssonio-Waesbergios, 1705, pp. 383–386.
Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 297–301.

DATE: The date of the *editio princeps*, apparently misprinted in all subsequent editions, has been adopted. The present letter is Scaliger's latest extant to Thomson.
The letter is dated 'XI Kalend. Octobris Iuliani', or 21 September, according to the Julian calendar. In the edition of the letter printed in 2012, this date was adjusted to the Gregorian calendar, 1 October. To avoid confusion, this date has been retained in the present edition.

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with his Catholic faith was part of a much wider international debate: see P. Arblaster, 'Blackwell, George (1547–1613)', ODNB, 2004, 6, pp. 24–26. The English Jesuit William Wright travelled as a missionary to England in 1606, became chaplain to the Gages at Hengrave Hall in Suffolk. He was arrested in July 1607 and imprisoned in the Tower of London. After escaping, he translated two treatises by the Jesuit Martin Becanus against the oath and its defenders, *The Confutation of Tortura Torti* (1610) and *The English Jarre* (1612). See T.M. McCoog, 'Wright, William (1563–1639)', ODNB, 2004, 60, pp. 502–503. For Thomson's role in this debate, see chapter 25, 'Thomson's *Elenchus*, 1611'.

23 The 'legatus' was the English ambassador in Paris, George Carew, who was in Paris from December 1605 until September 1609. See C.H. Firth and S.C. Lomas, *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France 1603–1688: Lists of Ambassadors from England to France and from France to England*, Oxford, 1906, pp. 5. From Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 15 April 1608, it appears that Casaubon gave a letter addressed to Thomson to Carew.

24 Casaubon's wife Florence, and his daughter Philippa.

TEXT: The present edition is based on Isaac Casaubon's edition of 1610, a text reprinted in 1612. The edition of 1627, reprinted in 1628, incorporates the stylistic revisions of its editor, Daniel Heinsius, but also preserves a short passage omitted in the editions of 1610 and 1612 (p. 321, lines 10–12). This passage, in which Scaliger speaks harshly of his own and Casaubon's enemies, is restored here from the edition of 1627.

Thomas Crenius' first edition of the present letter was drawn from the edition of 1627; the reprint of 1705 was drawn from the edition of 1699. A passage from this letter, extracted from the edition of 1627, running from 'Iesuitae' to 'emerit' (p. 324, lines 6–14) is cited in *Thomae Crenii animadversiones philologicae et historicae, novas librorum editiones, praefationes, indices, nonnullasque summorum aliquot virorum labeculas notatas, excutientes*, 19 parts, Rotterdam, Leiden and Amsterdam, 1695–1720, part 5, 1699, pp. 128–129.

SYNOPSIS: Scaliger does not know why De Laet left Thomson without taking a letter with him. Scaliger has only one copy of his versions from Martial. It has Casaubon's fine preface and he hopes it will silence their critics. Scaliger gave several translations to Labbé, but only those from Martial were printed. Phoenician characters existed before Moses. Hebrew was spoken in Canaan in Abraham's day; Syriac, his mother tongue, was derived from Hebrew. Adam's descendants lived in Assyria. After the flood, Babylon was built and the country prospered. It was from Babylonia that Syria and Phoenicia were colonised, and they still spoke Assyrian there in the time of Moses. The Canaanites called immigrants to their land 'Hebrews', and when the newcomers adopted the local language it was called Hebrew, not Canaanite. Similarly, the Syriac which the Jews spoke in Jesus' day was wrongly called Hebrew. Contemporary Hebrew script should really be called Jewish script. They themselves call it Assyriac, and they brought it from Babylon. Moses invented no script. Laban spoke Syriac, Jacob Canaanite. Abraham first spoke Syriac, and later Canaanite. The Bible was written in a single ancient language, originally from Assyria. The Jesuits have published a huge commentary on Ezekiel, but Scaliger cannot afford to buy it. It has images of Canaanite coins with inscriptions in Samaritan characters.

Iosephus Scaliger Richardo Thomsoni suo s.

Tandem optatissimas literas tuas accepi.[1] Mirabar qui factum esset ut Laetius noster sine ullis a vobis discessisset.[2] Iam instituebam querelam de silentio tuo. Sed acceptis tuis literis te culpa simul et me cura liberavi.

Mei Martialis unicum tantum exemplar accepi, in quo πάρεργον τοῦ ἔργου κρεῖττόν ἐστι.[3] Maximus enim Casaubonus epistolam operi praetexuit, quae non minore me invidia onerabit quam *Panegyricus* Heinsii.[4] Ego, quanquam illas dotes in me non agnosco, tamen amicos de me mentiri libenter patiar, modo hostes eius et mei eo adigantur ut nihil quam suspendium cogitent.[5] Nam sane male urit eos in partibus eorum quos ipsi haereticos vocant inveniri aliquos infra quos se positos vident. Quia primi omnium esse volunt, ideo neque alios laudari patiuntur, neque se ab illis longe vinci fateri possunt. Ego

1 Iosephus … suo s.] *om. c-1699, c-1705* Richardo Thomsoni *s-1627* 2 Laetius] Latius *s-1627* 3 instituebam *pp* silentio tuo *s-1627, c-1699, c-1705* 7 me … Heinsii] quam Panegyricus Heinsii invidia me onerabit *s-1627, c-1699, c-1705* 9 eius] earum *s-1627* eorum *correxit in erratis s-1627, c-1699, c-1705* 10–12 Nam … possunt] *om. s-1610, s-1612*

1 This letter from Thomson has not survived.

2 'Laetius' is Johannes de Laet, who had recently left England. For his relations with Thomson, see chapter 21, 'Johannes de Laet, 1603–1606'.

3 Πάρεργον τοῦ ἔργου κρεῖττόν ἐστι: 'the subordinate part of the work is the better part'. Scaliger claims that Casaubon's preface is better than the rest of the book. Scaliger has received: *Florilegium Epigrammatum Martialis. Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caesaris f. vertit Graece ad Isaacium Casaubonium*, Paris, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1607. Thomson had evidently asked Scaliger for a copy. Scaliger was sent three copies separately during August–September 1607, and he thanked Casaubon for them in October (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 265–268, 311–318). When Scaliger died, he still had 'octo exemplaria' of his Martial in Greek, unbound: see *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, eds, H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 49. The presentation copy he received from Casaubon is on p. 35. Thomson awaits a copy from Casaubon in his letter to Casaubon of 13 December 1607, and thanks him for it in Thomson to Casaubon, 24 May 1608. The versions from Martial are reprinted in Scaliger, *Poemata omnia, ex museio Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1615, part 2, pp. 5–82; Scaliger, *Poemata omnia*, Berlin, 1864, pp. 163–213.

4 Casaubon's long dedicatory letter to Scaliger is dated 25 July 1607: Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 214–229. Heinsius' work is: *Panegyricus illustri viro Iosepho Scaligero dictus*, [Leiden], ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1607.

5 Compare Scaliger's turn of phrase in a contemporary letter to Marcus Welser of 10 August 1607: 'faciam profecto ut per me non stet quin suspendia cogitent' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, p. 245).

Labbaeo dederam illud opus meum una cum Publianis et multis aliis versionibus nostris, quas non ita contemno ut iuventuti utiles fore non credam.[6] Tamen nescio quod taedium typographo incessit omnia excudendi, quum solum Martialem tantum ediderit. Reliqua enim non minores fructus, addo, etiam neque minus voluptatis promittunt.[7] Quanti ego mea faciam, ex eo iudicare potes quod nullum exemplar eorum retinere soleo.[8] Omnia arbitrii et potestatis amicorum facio edere, aut (quod mihi gratius) perpetuis tenebris damnare.

Phoenices literas, quod in extrema epistola quaeris, diu ante Mosem fuisse noli dubitare; easque esse quibus olim Hebraei, hodie vero soli Samaritae utuntur. Multa vetustissima numismata eruuntur quotidie in partibus Tyri et Sidonis, in quibus characteres illi sine ulla mutatione extant. Nam lingua Hebraica est quae in usu fuit Chananaeis, hoc est, Phoenicibus, tempore Abrahami. Syriaca vero, qua utebatur antea Abraham, locum habebat duntaxat in tractibus Euphratis, quae degeneraverat ex Chananaea propter frequentem usum et aliarum gentium commercia, quae in Babyloniam negotiationis caussa sese conferebant. Assyria enim, ut omnia prisca monumenta testantur, prima omnium regionum culta fuit. Ibi sunt natales primi hominis; ibi ante diluvium posteritas Adam mansit.

Post diluvium constructa fuit magna Babylon, et omnes ripae Euphratis amplissimis et opulentissimis urbibus praetextae erant, quum interea coloniae ex illis regionibus in Syriam et Phoeniciam deducerentur, quae adhuc aevo Mosis, et infra illa tempora, linguae Assyriae primae indelibatum et incorrup-

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1 dederam *pp* nostris *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 3 omnia excudendi incessit *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 4 tantum] *om. s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* ‖ etiam neque] neque *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 6 soleo] soleam *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 7 facio edere] facio ut aut edant *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* ‖ damnare] ea damnent *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 10 eruuntur *pp* Sidonis *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 11 extant] exstant *s-1612*, *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 12 fuit *pp* Abrahami *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* ‖ Phaenicibus *c-1699*, *c-1705* 13 utebatur … Abraham] antea Abraham utebatur *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 13–14 locum … 28 Euphratis] duntaxat in Euphratis tractibus locum habebat *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 14 ex Chananaea degeneraverat *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 19 constructa … Babylon] magna Babylon constructa fuit *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 21 et Phoeniciam] Phoeniciamque *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705*

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6 Scaliger's *Publiana* are his Greek versions of the *sententiae* largely extracted from the mimes of Publilius Syrus. These versions had been printed in 1598 and in 1605. For a full account of their publication, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 106–107. They were last printed in Scaliger, *Poemata omnia*, Berlin, 1864, pp. 236–247.

7 Scaliger complained to Charles Labbé on 25 October 1607 that only his Greek translation of Martial had been printed, and not his other Greek verse translations: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 326–328.

8 By 'exemplar', Scaliger here means a manuscript copy.

tum sermonem conservarent, quia peregrini raro ad eos penetrarent qui eorum linguam contaminarent. Ipsi Chananaei eos qui ex transeuphratensibus partibus ad illos veniebant 'Hebraeos', hoc est περαῖτας, vocabant.[9] Et ita primos patriarchas et deinceps eorum posteritatem vocatos adhuc vocari nemo nescit. Propterea, quia illi non ea lingua quam ex transeuphratensi regione reportabant utebantur, sed quam in Chananaeorum finibus didicerant, lingua illa non Chananaea sed Hebraea dicta fuit. Quemadmodum lingua Syriaca, qua Iudaei tempore Christi utebantur, Hebraica dicitur,[10] quum tamen non esset Chananaea, sed Assyria.

Literae, quae in usu sunt hodie Iudaeis, Hebraicae a nobis dicuntur mendose, quum verius dicerentur Iudaicae. At Iudaei ipsas vocant אֲשׁוּרִיּוֹת, Assyrias; recte. Ab exilio enim Babylonico eas reportarunt, quum hactenus Chananaeis usi fuissent, ut Samaritae ab ultima vetustate faciunt. Quare nullas literas excogitavit Moses, ut ecclesiastici scriptores prodiderunt,[11] neque aliquid innovavit in literis aut sermone Chananaeo. Laban loquitur Syriace, Genes. XXXI.47. Iacob lingua eius loci, nimirum Chananaea, extulit id quod Laban materna sua Syriaca. Et tamen Abrahamo et Labani, ut idem genus et patria, ita etiam eadem lingua communis erat. Abraham igitur loquutus primum est Syriace. Deinde et ipse, et posteritas eius, Chananaeo sermone usi sunt, quem integrum in Aegypto conservarunt. Syri Maronitae antiquiorem Syriasmum Hebraismo quovis pignore contendunt,[12] quae est summa imperitia. Nam est perinde ac si idioma Italicum Latino vetustius esse dicerent. Certe מֶלֶךְ prius est quam מַלְכָּא.[13] Et multa alia ad hanc pertinaciam expugnandam adferre possumus.

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1 conservarent sermonem *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 4 posteritatem] potestatem *s-1627* ‖ adhuc] et adhuc *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 10 a] *om. s-1612*, *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 11 dicerentur] direntur *s-1612* ‖ אֲשׁוּרִיּוֹת] אשודיות *s-1612*, *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 14–15 innovavit *pp* Chananaeo *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 15 loquitur *pp* 47 *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 16 Chananaea nimirum *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* ‖ extulit id] id extulit *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 17 etiam] *om. s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 18 lingua … erat] communis erat lingua *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* ‖ loquutus … Syriace] primum Syriace locutus est *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 21 est perinde] perinde est *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 22 מֶלֶךְ] מלך *s-1612*, *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 23 מַלְכָּא] מלכא *s-1612*, *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705*

9 Scaliger made this point again in March 1608 in a letter to Etienne Ubert: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, p. 465. For the word περαῖτας, 'those from over the water', see Josephus, *Jewish War*, II.20.4.566.

10 For example, in John 19.13, 17; 20.16; Acts 21.40; 22.2.

11 For example, Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, IX.26.

12 Compare Catullus, *Carmina*, 44.4: 'quovis … pignore … contendunt'.

13 Scaliger here gives first the Hebrew and then the Aramaic word for 'king', *melek* and *malka* respectively.

Concludamus unam linguam vetustissimam esse eam qua sacra Biblia conscripta sunt; eam primum integram et incorruptam in Assyria fuisse, deinde peregrinorum commerciis contaminatam. In partibus autem Syriae ad tempora prioris templi non solum inter Hebraeos, sed etiam inter Sidonios et Tyrios diu obtinuisse, quod quidem eorum numismata testantur.[14]

Iesuitae ediderunt Romae anno superiore ingentem commentarium in Ezechielem adeo luculenter ut ea editio elegantiam omnium aliarum longe superet, ut nobis retulerunt ii qui viderunt.[15] Nam propter immanitatem precii huc non adfertur, et sane sacculus meus illos sumptus facere non potest. Si quis isthic ex opulentis proceribus Angliae illum librum paravit sibi, poteris in eo videre multa insignia Chananaeorum numismata Samaritanis literis inscripta, ex quibus haurire potes unde sitim tuam expleas. Ego sane discrucior quod illud opus per pauxillos dies nondum inspicere potui, neque spes est videndi, nisi quis id sibi emerit.[16] Sed nimium diu te tenui.

Vale.

Lugduni Batavorum, XI Kalend. Octobris Iuliani M D CVII.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 13 December 1607

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 251r.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo praestantissimoque / viro / Isaaco Casaubono. / Parisios.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson's recent letter explains the interruption in their correspondence. He thanks Casaubon for his edition of the work of Gregory of Nyssa, from which he learned a great deal.

4 etiam] et *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 6–7 Iesuitae … luculenter] Iesuitae Romae … ingentem in Ezechielem commentarium ita luculenter ediderunt *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 8 precii immanitatem *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 10–11 poteris … videre] in eo *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 11 inscripta] inscripta videbis *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* 16 XI] 9 *s-1612*, *s-1627*, *c-1699*, *c-1705* ‖ M D CVII] 1607 *s-1612*, *c-1699*, *c-1705*

14 The first temple was built in Jerusalem by King Solomon and destroyed in the sixth century B.C.

15 *Hieronymi Pradi et Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi e Societate Iesu in Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus urbis, ac Templi Hierosolymitani. Commentariis et imaginibus illustratus opus tribus tomis distinctum*, 3 vols, Rome, 1596–1605.

16 Scaliger probably never managed to acquire this book: no copy is recorded in the auction catalogue of his library (this letter, note 3).

The critics who impugn Casaubon's learning are remarkably shameless, attacking their betters to bolster their own pride. Thomson is enthusiastic about the unfinished work which he has received from Casaubon, and prominent English churchmen think it very timely. Casaubon should consider publishing the complete work elsewhere. Thomson thanks him for the inscription. He asks after Casaubon's edition of Polybius, his other projects, and his family. He looks forward to receiving the anthology from Martial.

Clarissimo praestantissimoque viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Non dubito quin plane excusarint silentium meum quas non ita pridem ad te dedi.[1] Itaque non est quod ambitiosius hoc denuo agam, praesertim nescio quibus occupationibus destrictus.

G. Nysseni aureolam *Epistolam* cum eruditissimis notis tuis accepi, quo nomine immortales tibi gratias ago.[2] Ego ex iis notis didici quomodo Graeci Patres tractandi sint, et quam nihil hactenus in illorum lectione profecerim. Et tamen, fatebor sane, bellum memet faciebam, et aliquid in iis intelligere me existimabam.

Miror quid Alastores illi nunc dicturi sint, qui praeter Despauterium te nihil in vita legisse, palam scribere non erubuerunt.[3] Ostendant nobis e sociis suis, qui paria facere possint, et me mancupio sibi habeant. Non, non, mi Casaubone; nos scimus quam longo intervallo sequi cogantur, quoties tale quid audent. Et hoc est quod ipsis cordolium facit, quia cum omnium primi esse omnino velint, suis tamen ingratiis videre necesse habeant inter haereticos aliquos inveniri infra quos se longe positos sentiunt. Itaque alia via grassantur. Zelotypia, maledictis, calumniis, mendaciis rem gerunt.[4] Iis sperant se consequuturos ut, quia vos nulli estis, ipsi omnia esse videantur. Miseros homines qui non vident ne suis quidem se hoc persuadere!

9 \me/ *LBL* 12 \legisse/ *LBL* 14 quid ~~dolet~~ *LBL*

1 The implied subject of 'excusarint' is 'litterae'. Thomson had explained a long interruption in his correspondence with Casaubon in his letter to Casaubon of 10 June 1606.

2 Thomson has received: *B. Gregorii Nysseni ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam et Basilissam epistola. I. Casaubonus nunc primum publicavit, Latine vertit et illustravit notis*, Paris, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1606.

3 For these critics of Casaubon, and for Despauterius, see Thomson to Casaubon, 21 July 1607.

4 Thomson's language recalls that which he used in his letter to Casaubon of 15 July 1606.

Alia illa inchoati operis capita quae in eundem cum Nysseno fasciculum conieceras, Deus bone, quam omnibus nobis salivam moverunt! Itaque multi doctissimi viri, et qui ad clavum Ecclesiae nostrae sedent, perpetuis convitiis me differunt, et iubent pro reliquo opere apud te intercedere. Ego quid tibi dicam, nescio, neque quomodo sese res tuae istic habeant, novi.[5] Hoc saltem dicam: nihil eo tractatu hisce temporibus utilius edi posse. Est enim praecipuum de quo nunc controvertitur argumentum,[6] et tam accurate a te conscriptum ut frustra ab alio idem fieri posse speremus. Quod quum te intelligere sciam, et ea fine abs te susceptum non dubitem, sonticam aliquam caussam intervenisse credo quae te a tam laudabili proposito divertit. Quare hoc tantum possum dicere: si istic fieri non possit, alibi edendum cures, nisi id insigni aliquo tuo incommodo fiat.[7]

Herodis inscripsionem me accepisse, et magna cum voluptate legisse postremis meis significavi, et gratias egi.[8] De Polybio tuo quid fiat velim significes, et quid musineris interea;[9] quid uxor liberique agant, et quo loco res vestrae familiares sint. Magna enim vestri solicitudo me semper habet. Anthologiam Martialis, et uberiores tuas literas quas promittis, avidissime expecto.[10]

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4 iubent ~~me~~ *LBL* 13 inscripsionem] *sic LBL* 15 musineris] *sic LBL*

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5 Thomson is aware that Casaubon, under the protection of a Roman Catholic monarch Henri IV, might be unable to publish works critical of the church of Rome.

6 Thomson refers to the controversy over the Papal interdict on the Republic of Venice. The interdict had been lifted by the time Thomson wrote the present letter.

7 Thomson has received a copy of Casaubon, *De libertate ecclesiastica liber singularis. Ad viros politicos qui de controversia inter Paulum V Pontificem maximum et rempublicam Venetam, edoceri cupiunt*, [Paris?], 1607. The work was never published in its entirety and the edition ends abruptly. It was suppressed by Henri IV when the Papacy and the Republic of Venice settled their differences and the interdict was lifted. For its suppression, see Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, pp. 194–196.

8 *Inscriptio vetus Graeca, nuper ad Urbem in Via Appia effossa: Dedicationem fundi continens, ab Herode Magno Rege factam. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit et notis illustravit*, [Paris], [1607]. Casaubon's interpretation of the inscription was misconceived: it concerns Herodes Atticus, not Herod the Great.

9 'Musineris' is a rare variant for 'mugineris'.

10 Thomson would like: *Florilegium Epigrammatum Martialis. Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caesaris f. vertit Graece ad Isaacium Casaubonium*, Paris, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1607. Casaubon's dedication to Scaliger, dated 25 July 1607, is in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 214–229. The versions from Martial are in Scaliger, *Poemata omnia, ex museio Petri Scriverii*, 3 parts, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1615, part 2, pp. 5–82; Scaliger, *Poemata omnia*, Berlin, 1864, pp. 163–213. Thomson thanked Casaubon for sending a copy of the edition in his letter to Casaubon of 24 May 1608.

Vale, vir praestantissime, et me, quod soles, ama. Ego vota pro te, uxore liberisque tuis quotidie facio. Tu eos meis verbis, id est, officiosissime, saluta.

Cantebrigiae, a. d. Eid. Decembris M D CVII.

Thomson (London) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 15 April 1608

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 253r.
ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / À / Paris.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson has not received the letter which Casaubon entrusted to the ambassador. He is saddened by the death of Casaubon's daughter Philippa, of which he had already heard. Thomson wants to know what Casaubon thinks of a certain matter. Thomson would like a copy of the French version of Trismegistus, which may be sent via Carew and Killigrew. He knows of Jesuit polemics from the Frankfurt catalogue. He has just read one of them, the vicious *Tres Capellae*, and regrets that Heinsius' satire did not address it. The Jesuits hate Casaubon too. Thomson sends his regards to Casaubon's wife.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s.d.

Literas tuas quas postremis tuis ais te domino legato nostro tradidisse, nondum accepi.[1] Miror quis ille Saturninus sit, cui ille tuas tradidit. Valde doleo me iis hactenus caruisse.[2] Itaque ignosce si paucioribus quam soleo respondeam.

De obitu lectissimae Philippae piae memoriae paullo ante quam tuas acciperem, intellexeram.[3] Quam aegre mihi nativitas illa fuerit, norunt omnes hic

1 For the 'legatus', George Carew the English ambassador in Paris, see Thomson to Casaubon, 21 July 1607, note 17.

2 Casaubon's letter has not come to light, and Thomson may never have received it. The unreliable intermediary has not been identified.

3 Philippa Casaubon died on 26 February 1608 (16 February o.s.) at the age of 18: see Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, pp. 583–589; Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, p. 228. Casaubon wrote to Scaliger of her death at the end of March (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 497–498). Thomson had known Philippa during his stays with Casaubon in Geneva, and often mentioned her in his letters to her father. Casaubon's letter announcing her death has not survived, but the Archbishop of Canterbury showed it to King James: see Thomson to Casaubon, 7 July 1608.

qui me norunt, et intelligunt magnam me partem in luctu illo, non tuo tantum, sed bonorum omnium habuisse. Sed certe sic est, mi Casaubone, mi praestantissime virorum, non luctus huiusmodi abitus esse, sed solatia, praesertim cogitantibus praesentis et instantis vitae nostrae pericula. Idque quantum ex literis et libris vestrorum intelligo, apud vos. Utinam benigniore vultu vestra omnia irent.

Nostra quo loco sint, pauci intelligunt. Ego inter illos choicos sedeo, qui nimis alta non sapiunt.[4] Imo non audent. Procul a Iove, procul a fulmine.[5] Ego nuper prolixius tecum egi super hoc ipso negocio; quid responderis valde aveo scire ex tuis iis quas a domino legato expecto.[6]

Est quod te obnixe rogatum velim. Memini me apud te videre Mercurii Trismegisti versionem Gallicam nobilis viri Candolo, nisi fallor.[7] Eius ut mihi exemplar cures, te per amicitiam nostram obtestor. Dominus legatus facillime curabit ad cognatum suum dominum Robertum Killigrew quondam tuum, et iam tuissimum, deferendum.[8] De precio non est quod dubites: liberalissime et cum gratiarum actione refundetur.

Quid Loiolae filii quotidie machinentur contra τὸ πάνυ nostrorum, ex catalogo nundinarum potuisti intelligere.[9] Ego *Tres capellas*, insanum, furiosum, et inficetum scriptum ante aliquot dies legi.[10] Deus bone, quid ipsi non ausuri sunt! Ex animo doleo Heynsii nostri Menippeam non expectasse futilissimi illius scripti editionem, cuius ad nos rumor pridem pervenerat.[11] Profecto hoc

9 negocio] *sic LBL* 10 ex … iis] ex \tuis/ iis *LBL* 15 precio] *sic LBL*

4 The rare adjective 'choicus', 'of earth', is attested in Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos*, XXIV, XXV, XXIX; *De resurrectione carnis*, XLIX; *De anima*, XL.

5 Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 296: 'procul a Iove atque fulmine'.

6 When he inserted 'tuis', Thomson may have intended to delete 'iis', but he did not do so. The 'negotium' to which Thomson alludes may concern plans to secure a position for Casaubon in England.

7 Thomson refers to: *Le Pimandre de Mercure Trismegiste de la philosophie chrestienne … traduit … avec collation … par François Monsieur de Foix*, Bordeaux, S. Millanges, 1579. It includes an extensive commentary. Thomson must have seen this book in Casaubon's library in Geneva in the 1590s. It is not known whether Thomson received this work.

8 The 'legatus' is Carew: see this letter, note 1. Robert Killigrew (1579/80–1633) had accompanied Thomson to Geneva in 1597, where he met Casaubon.

9 Τὸ πάνυ: 'the excellent one'. Thomson intends Scaliger, and he is speaking of Jesuit polemics which he has seen advertised in the catalogue of the spring bookfair in Frankfurt.

10 Thomson has read a work published anonymously: *Tres capellae, sive admonitio ad Iosephum Iustum Burdonem*, [no place], 1608.

11 Daniel Heinsius, *Hercules tuam fidem, sive Munsterus hypobolimaeus, id est satyra Menip-*

agant nebulones illi ut quacunque ratione luminibus tanti viri, imo Semonis, officiant. Qua in caussa quantam tu partem habeas, ego scio. Et sane ob aliam quoque caussam quam quod Scaligeros colas. In te caussarum satis ipsis est cur oderint et irascant. Supra ipsos longe positus es, et longe alterius instituti.

Sed quid ago? Obiter occurrit mihi hic tabellarius, et in taberna libraria has exarare coegit. Vale et vive, vir longe praestantissime, et me quod facis ama. Ego vota pro te facio. Lectissimae uxori tuae salutem dico.

XV Aprilis M D CVIII. Londini.

Dominicus Baudius (Leiden) to Thomson (Cambridge) 5 May 1608

PRINT: Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1615, p. 415, cent. 2, no. 42.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1620, pp. 408–410, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1622, pp. 408–410, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1625, pp. 389–391, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1631, pp. 389–391, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1635, pp. 389–392, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1636, pp. 382–384, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1639, pp. 291–293, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1642, pp. 277–278, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1647, pp. 277–278, cent. 2, no. 61.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1650, pp. 298–299, cent. 2, no. 91.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1654, pp. 281–282, cent. 2, no. 91.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1660, pp. 316–317, cent. 2, no. 91.
Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1662, pp. 283–284, cent. 2, no. 91.

TEXT: The present edition is based on the *editio princeps* of 1615, collated with all later editions.

TEXT: Baudius' collected letters were frequently reprinted in the decades following his death: for their textual history, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 1, pp. xxxviii–xxxix.

ADDRESS: A survival from the address is printed at the top of the letter in all editions: 'Cantabrigiam'.

pea de vita, origine, moribus Gasp. Schioppi; acc. vita eius familiari descripta, Leiden, ex officina Ioannis Patii, 1608. This work went through three editions in 1608: for their preparation and publication, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 403–405.

SYNOPSIS: Baudius apologises for neglecting their correspondence. He regrets the sharp tone of George Thomson's work against Lipsius: for all his errors, Lipsius deserves better. Scriverius has said that he will publish his edition of Martial. Baudius visited England the previous August, where he presented a volume of his poetry to King James, and spoke at length with Prince Henry. However, neither the King nor his son saw fit to reward Baudius for his dedications. He recommends the bearer of the letter to Thomson.

Richardo Thomsonio s. p. d.

Quanquam non admodum opera mea frequens aut largus sum in missitatione literarum, tamen cave suspiceris quidquam amicitia nostra constantique viro indignum.[1] Nam etsi nullos dedi publicos obsides constantiae, ut clarus ille vir cuius nunc personam in hac Academia sustineo,[2] tamen probe memini, nec me unquam capiet oblivio, quid bene meritis amicis, quid humanissimo virorum Richardo Thomsonio debeam. Non sine mente nomen addo. Nam cognominem tuum Georgium Thomsonium amo quidem et aestimo plurimum ob studium bonarum partium et egregios in solida doctrina progressus;[3] sed, ut verum apud te fabuler, nullo modo possum probare nimiam eius violentiam atque asperitatem in nostrum Lipsium, cuius quidem *Divarum* sanos omnes pudet pigetque,[4] sed tamen maiore cum reverentia tractandum fuit

1 Richardo Thomsonio] Thomsonio Dom. Baudius *B-1620*, *B-1622*, *B-1625*, *B-1631*, *B-1635*, *B-1636*, *B-1639*, *B-1642*, *B-1647*, *B-1650*, *B-1654*, *B-1660*, *B-1662* 3 suspiceris] suspicere *B-1650*, *B-1654*, *B-1660*, *B-1662*

1 Baudius quite properly did not use 'ne' before 'suspiceris'. The edition of the present letter published in 1650 clumsily corrected his sentence to read 'suspicere', and later editions reproduced the correction.

2 The 'clarus vir' is Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). He had left the University of Leiden in 1590 and subsequently converted to Roman Catholicism. Baudius had recently been appointed to Lipsius' former post at Leiden. The 'obsides constantiae' allude to Lipsius' philosophical dialogue *De constantia*, first published in 1584 and often reprinted.

3 At this date, George Thomson, a Scot, had published works on the history of Christianity in Scotland, a French rendering of a work on the Book of Revelation, and a slim volume of Latin verse on the accession of James I.

4 Baudius refers to two works of Catholic piety published by Lipsius some years earlier: *Diva Virgo Hallensis. Beneficia eius et miracula fide atque ordine descripta*, Antwerp, 1604; Lipsius,

praestantissimum pene ingenium huius seculi, et qui pro parte sua strenue tutatus est literarum gloriam.[5]

Scriverius noster iam tandem serio cogitat de Martialis editione, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφα, ἐγὼ δέ τις οὐ ταχυπειθής.[6] Si quid tamen et affirmanti amico singulari et bono viro credendum est, μέλλει δώσειν.[7]

Arbitror te ex indicio famae factum esse certiorem, me superiori mense Augusto transfretasse in magnam Britanniam, cuius et monarchae de manu in manum tradidi Salisberiaci[8] poematia mea, quorum minus malum carmen heroicum eius honori inscribitur; duo vero *Gnomarum Iambicarum libri* dedicati sunt Principi Britanniarum, quicum horam amplius unam familiariter sum collocutus; sed hac fine stetit omnis regia liberalitas, nec teruncio factus sum propensior ut vel meo exemplo liquere possit magnos terrarum dominos posse perdere, non donare.[9] Interim non poenitet suscepti itineris, nisi quod te non

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Diva Sichemiensis, sive Aspricollis. Nova eius beneficia et admiranda, Antwerp, 1605. Both works were mocked in print by Protestant writers, and George Thomson's work was directed specifically at the latter.

5 George Thomson's work against Lipsius had been published in 1606: *Vindex veritatis: Adversus Iustum Lipsium libri duo. Prior insanam eius religionem politicam, fatuam nefariamque de fato, sceleratissimam de fraude doctrinam refellit. Posterior Ψευδοπαρθένου Sichemiensis, id est, idoli Aspricollis, et deae ligneae miracula convellit. Uterque Lipsium ad orco gentilismum revocasse docet*, London, ex officina Nortoniana, 1606. Baudius mentioned this book in a letter to Fredericus Sandius, dated 9 May 1606: 'De Thomsono, fefellit te nominis similitudo. Non enim noster Richardus optimus virorum hunc sacrum et horribilem libellum composuit, sed alius, gente Scotus, praenomine Georgius …' (Baudius, *Epistolae*, 1662, cent. 3, no. 50, pp. 375–376). Scaliger had also deprecated the ferocity of George Thomson's criticism: see Scaliger to Thomson, 14 March 1606. For the same sentiments expressed at greater length, see Scaliger to De Laet, 14 March 1606, in Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 6, pp. 347–348.

6 'As he himself said, though I am not quick to believe what I am told'. Compare Theocritus, *Idylls*, 7.38: ἐγὼ δέ τις οὐ ταχυπειθής. Baudius falls into Greek to express his scepticism more obliquely.

7 Μέλλει δώσειν: 'he is going to publish'. Scriverius had been preparing an edition of Martial since 1602, but it was not published. For its fortunes, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'. Baudius had written a long poem urging Scriverius to publish his edition: see Baudius, *Poematum nova editio*, Leiden, Thomas Basson, 1607, pp. 391–409.

8 A locative: 'at Salisbury'.

9 The dedications appear in Baudius, *Poematum nova editio*, Leiden, Thomas Basson, 1607. The first poem of the third book of Baudius' *Heroica* is addressed to James I (ibid., pp. 108–124). His *Gnomarum Iambicarum libri duo* (pp. 152–224) are dedicated to Prince Henry. The value of the dedications to King James and Prince Henry were diluted by the very large number of dedicatees who appear in this substantial volume.

offenderim. Nam et habeo reges debendi reos, et olim, fors fuat, intelliget ἦν ἄτην, ὅτ᾽ ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισε.[10] Durabo, et memet rebus servabo secundis.[11] Idem generositati tuae faciendum esse censeo, et quum non possimus quod volumus, velimus id quod possumus. Esto tibi commendatus is qui hasce literas tibi reddet.[12] Plura non addo, praeter solenne carmen ut valeas, et nos amare perseveres.

Raptim, datum Lugduni Batavorum, v Maii m d cviii.

Thomson (Suffolk) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 24 May 1608

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 255r.

ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon. / À / Paris. / devent [*sic*] les cordeliers.

TEXT: There is a small tear, with loss of some letters, in the final paragraph. The extent of the reconstruction is recorded in the textual apparatus. The words 'devent les cordeliers' were added to the address by a different hand.

NOTE: This is the first of two letters which Thomson wrote from Suffolk in the summer of 1608. If he had been writing from a town or city, he would doubtless have named it: the vagueness of 'Suffolciae Icenorum' suggests a country retreat.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has recently written, but in that letter he forgot to thank Casaubon for sending Scaliger's Greek versions from Martial. They are marvellous, exciting the envy of Scaliger's enemies, and the admiration of his friends. In the preface to the edition, Casaubon stated that he had copies of unpublished works by Scaliger, including his version of some Arabic proverbs, and his work on Guillandinus' *Papyrus*. Thomson

1 fuat] sua *B-1660* 2 ἄτην] ἄντην *B-1615, B-1620, B-1635, B-1636, B-1639, B-1642, B-1647, B-1650, B-1660, B-1662* ἄτην *B-1625, B-1622, B-1631, B-1654* ‖ οὐδὲν] *om. B-1625* 7 datum] *om. B-1620, B-1622, B-1625, B-1631, B-1635, B-1636, B-1639, B-1642, B-1647, B-1650, B-1654, B-1660, B-1662*

10 'He will understand his blindness, that he did not honour the best of the Achaeans' (Homer, *Iliad*, I.412). Homer is speaking of Agamemnon: Baudius uses the allusion to discreetly veil his criticism of King James. The edition of the present letter published in 1625 made the necessary correction to the Greek which most of the others missed.

11 Vergil, *Aeneid*, I.207: 'Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis'.

12 This courier has not been identified.

would very much like copies of these. He already has Scaliger's treatise on tithes. He sends his regards to Casaubon's wife.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Rich. Thomson s. d.

Nudius tertius prolixas et bene verbosas ad te dedi, quibus omne scribendi argumentum me exhausisse putabam.[1] Falso. Unum enim restabat, idque non minimi momenti quod nescio quo modo festinanti mihi tunc non occurrebat. Illud autem erat ut gratias agerem pro misso *Florilegio Epigrammatario* magni nostri Scaligeri, quo munere me mirum in modum devinxisti.[2] Profecto ego in illo genere his et Catonianis illis nihil vidi elegantius, nihil eruditius.[3] Equidem ego ita sentio eos qui tam eruditis lusibus non capiuntur aut truncos esse aut (quod verius est) zelotypia et invidia excaecari. Quanto nebulonum omnium odio flagret heros ille, non est quod ego tibi narrem, qui pridem ab iisdem ad partes vocatus es. Neque vero tu tantum, sed quotquot fere Scaligeri eruditionem et virtutem istic amatis et colitis. Nihil est quod vindicare vel summos viros, adeoque septimontii cultores, ab eorum contumeliis potuit.[4] Satis caussae ad male audiendum datum fuit postquam Scaligerum aut te amare coeperunt. Ea sunt nunc tempora, mi Casaubone, ubi virtus et eruditio, quae olim via munitissima ad laudem et honorem erat, odium parit et contemptum. Sed neque alia, quantum coniicere possumus, nobis expectanda sunt. Itaque Christiani et generosi animi paratura opus est, id est, propria conscientia suffultos, paucorum bonorum iudiciis acquiescere magis quam sycophantarum et Loiolitarum clamoribus et calumniis perturbari. Sed quid ago, qui inconsultissimus consultissimo viro consilium affero? Manum ori impono.[5]

5 Flori\le/gio *LBL* 15 ~~ubi~~ ubi *LBL* 16 parit] *sic LBL* 17 \alia/ *LBL* 18 id est] i. *LBL*

1 Thomson's most recent extant letter to Casaubon is dated 15 April 1608.

2 *Florilegium Epigrammatum Martialis. Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caesaris f. vertit Graece ad Isaacium Casaubonium*, Paris, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1607. Thomson had asked for a copy of this collection in his letter to Casaubon of 13 December 1607.

3 Scaliger's Greek translation of the so-called *Distichs of Cato* was first printed in 1598: *Publii Syri Mimi Selectae Sententiae. Dionysii Catonis Disticha de Moribus, cum versione Graeca Planudis paribus versibus. Sententiae Publianae totidem versibus Graecis, et quaedam Catonis Disticha Graece a Iosepho Scaligero reddita: cum notis eiusdem*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, 1598. The version was reprinted in Scaliger, *Opuscula diversa Graeca et Latina partim nunquam hactenus edita, partim ab auctore recensita atque aucta. Cum notis in aliquot veteres scriptores*, Paris, apud Hadrianum Beys, 1605, pp. 93–119, and was last printed in Scaliger, *Poemata omnia*, Berlin, 1864, pp. 247–257.

4 The 'septimontii cultores' are the Catholics. Rome was said to have seven hills.

5 That is, in a gesture of silence.

Caeterum est et aliud quod proximis meis non inserui. In eruditissima illa et gravissima tua epistola qua Scaligerorum scripta mundo commendasti[6] (quod sane magno cum iuventutis bono factum est) ais te Arabicorum proverbiorum versionem et notas Scaligeri habere,[7] habere item amicos tuos illa quae ad Plinium de papyro scripsit, atque alia quoque insuper eiusmodi cimelia.[8] Rogo te, mi Casaubone, et per amicitiam nostram obtestor, uti eorum me compotem facere non graveris. Ego pro describendis illis nullos sumptus recuso, et si quid expenderis, liberaliter et cum gratiarum actione refundendum curabo. Sine hoc abs te impetrem, praestantissime virorum, et me, ut semper, tibi aeternum devinctum habe. Tractatum *De decimis Iudaeorum* pridem habeo, una cum Hebraicis illis quae ibi citantur.[9]

3 prov[er]biorum *absc. LBL* 4 tuo[s i]lla *absc. LBL* 5 [eiusmo]di *absc. LBL* 6 obtes[tor] *absc. LBL*

6 Casaubon supplied his edition of Scaliger's Greek versions with a long prefatory letter to Scaliger, dated 25 July 1607 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 214–229).

7 These proverbs are attributed to the eighth-century scholar Abū 'Ubayd: see A. Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist: "Video longum esse iter"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72, 2009, pp. 143–168, p. 149. Scaliger sent his Latin version with a letter to Casaubon in January 1603 (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 4, pp. 529–536). A translation attributed to Scaliger was printed posthumously with notes by Thomas Erpenius: *Proverbiorum Arabicorum Centuriae duo ab anonymo quodam Arabe collectae et explicatae cum interpretatione Latina et scholiis Iosephi Scaligeri I. Caes. f. et Thomae Erpenii*, Leiden, 1614. For Scaliger's manuscripts, see A. Vrolijk and K. van Ommen, eds, *'All my Books in Foreign Tongues': Scaliger's Oriental Legacy in Leiden 1609–2009. Catalogue of an Exhibition on the Quartercentenary of Scaliger's Death, 21 January 2009*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 97–99. For Scaliger's translation, see A. Vrolijk, 'The Prince of Arabists and his Many Errors: Thomas Erpenius' Image of Joseph Scaliger and the Edition of the *Proverbia Arabica* (1614)', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 73, 2010, pp. 297–325. Casaubon's copy of the proverbs is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. no. 30 (3966j), item 11. Thomson thanks Casaubon for sending a copy of these proverbs in his letter to Casaubon of 31 December 1608.

8 Melchior Guillandinus (c. 1500–1589) had published *Papyrus: hoc est commentarius in tria C. Plinii maioris de papyro capita*, Venice, apud M. Antonium Ulmum, 1572. In response, Scaliger composed a work against Guillandinus which remained unpublished during his lifetime: see Scaliger to Thomson, 3 September 1605, note 8. Casaubon first edited the *Animadversiones in Melchioris Guilandini Commentarium in tria C. Plinii de papyro capita libri XIII* for publication after Scaliger's death: Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1610, pp. 1–55; repr. Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1612, pp. 1–52.

9 Thomson's manuscript copy of this treatise has not been identified. It was written in 1599

Vale, αὐτάδελφον κάρα.[10] Deus te nobis diu diuque incolumem servet. Lectissimae foeminae uxori salutem dico.

Suffolciae Icenorum, IX Kal. Iunii Iuliani M D CVIII.

Thomson (Suffolk) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 7 July 1608

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 256$^{r–v}$.
ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / À / Paris.
TEXT: There is a note on the envelope in a different hand, apparently referring to the cost of postage: '8 [.]s / [P]ort huict so[us]'.
NOTE: This is the second of two letters which Thomson wrote from Suffolk in the summer of 1608. If he had been writing from a town or city, he would doubtless have named it: the vagueness of 'ex Icenis Suffolck.' suggests a country retreat.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson wrote three times in June, although one of these letters is still in England with the Archbishop. The King and the Archbishop speak highly of Casaubon and admire his incomplete work *De libertate ecclesiastica*. The King is very sympathetic to Casaubon's situation. Thomson hopes that the letter he wrote dealing with these matters will soon reach Casaubon. When asked about Casaubon, Thomson spoke warmly of him. Thomson has passed on Bongar's enthusiasm for Casaubon's edition of Polybius. When it is printed, Casaubon should send a copy to the Archbishop. Thomson has learned that the Royal Library in Paris has manuscripts of Hippocrates, Galen and Oribasius: does Casaubon think they are worth copying? Thomson sends his regards to Casaubon's family.

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and first published by Casaubon in Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1610, pp. 61–70, under the title *Diatriba de decimis in lege Dei ad virum nobilissimum Carolum Harlaeum Dolotii dominum*. For this treatise, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 267–269, 300–301.

10 Αὐτάδελφον κάρα: 'my dear brother'. Compare the first line of Sophocles' *Antigone*: Ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα. A similar turn of phrase is used in Casaubon to Thomson, 1 January 1597, Thomson to Perrot, 22 July 1600, and Thomson to Casaubon, 7 July 1608.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Rich. Thomson s. d.

Extremo Iunio ternas ad te dedi.[1] Neque vero quicquam dubito quin priores duas acceperis. Iis prolixe respondi tuis quas de acerbo tuorum casu scripseras.[2] Tertias adhuc in Anglia haerere puto, idque manibus domini Archiepiscopi viri, ut caetera omittam, tui studiosissimi, qui se eas curaturum receperat.[3] Illo summo viro multus cum Rege de te sermo sane honorificentissimus fuerat. Ostenderat ei folia inchoati operis tui *De libertate ecclesiastica*, quibus usque adeo delectatus est eruditissimus Rex ut nulla fere alia de re quam te tuaque summa doctrina aliquot post diebus sermones instituerit.[4] Et quia literas illas quas de dulcissimae Philippae immaturo abitu, de sororis et affinis casu etc scripseras, una ostenderat, mirum dictu quantopere miseratus fuerit casum tuum Rex, et condoluerit tibi.[5] Quod, ut solatio non vulgari tibi esset, iis complexus eram, quas dixi in manibus Archiepiscopi haerere.[6] Et fortasse ea caussa detinendi est. Spero tamen brevi missurum, nisi, quod Deus ille faxit, ipse ego ad te mittam. Ego illum diem mihi illucescere velim: γένοιτο, γένοιτο![7] Certe amici mei nescio quid ea de re in aurem solent. Nuper bona fide de te tuisque rebus κατὰ λεπτὸν dicere iussus, respondi quod res erat, et quod (ne adulari videar) hic non repono.[8] Sane eo sermone verissimo, etsi antea celebratissimus esses, magna tamen tui admiratio hominibus nostris incessit.

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4 puto] *absc.* LBL 10 abitu] *sic* LBL ‖ etc] *sic* LBL 11 ostenderat ~~Regxx~~ LBL 19 \esses/ LBL

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1 None of these letters from Thomson to Casaubon survives.

2 Casaubon's 'casus' is probably the death of his daughter Philippa, mentioned later in the present letter. She died in February 1608 at the age of 18. Thomson wrote of her death in his letter to Casaubon of 15 April 1608.

3 The Archbishop of Canterbury at this date was Richard Bancroft (1544–1610).

4 For this incomplete printed work, see Thomson to Casaubon, 13 December 1607, note 7. Casaubon had sent Thomson a copy.

5 Casaubon's letter to Thomson announcing the death of his daughter Philippa has not survived, but Thomson's reply is extant: Thomson to Casaubon, 15 April 1608. Since the King was thinking of offering Casaubon a position in England, the innocent-looking 'etc' may gloss over some delicate negotiations.

6 Thomson refers to the third letter he wrote to Casaubon in June 1608, which was to be delivered via the Archbishop.

7 Γένοιτο, γένοιτο: 'so be it, so be it'. The formula occurs in the Greek version of the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms: Numbers 5.22; Judith 13.20; Psalms 40.13; 71.19; 88.52; 105.48 (Septuagint). Thomson uses it in his letter to Casaubon of 21 October 1609.

8 Κατὰ λεπτὸν: 'in detail'.

De Polybio tuo quid expectare debeant, clarissimi Bongarsii nostri fide indicavi.[9] Illius editio omnium salivam movit, praesertim nobilium, qui Regem benigne et clementer te memorantem quotidie audiunt. Ego auctor tibi sim uti eius libri exemplum ad dominum Archiepiscopum, quamprimum prodierit, mittendum cures.[10] Operaepretium te facturum certo statue. Habes caussam eius officii, amorem et benevolentiam summi viri erga te, quae scio esse maxima.

Audio istic in Bibliotheca Regia extare Hippocratem *De fracturis*, *De articulis*, *De officina medici*, cum commentariis Galeni. Item Galeni librum *De fasciis*, et Oribasii de iisdem et machinamentis.[11] Quod an ita sit, quaeso ubi commodo tuo potes, significa, et an describendi copia sit.

Lectissimae uxori, sorori et liberis amicissimam salutem dico. Deum veneror uti te diu diuque incolumem nobis servet.

Vale, αὐτάδελφον κάρα.[12]

Non. Iulii M CVIII, ex Icenis Suffolck.

15 M CVIII] *sic LBL*

9 The diplomat Jacques Bongars (1546–1612) had travelled to London via Leiden in April–May 1608. By 17 June he was back on the continent (*Iacobi Bongarsii et Georgii Michaelis Lingelshemii epistolae*, Strasbourg, ex officina Iosiae Staedelii, 1660, pp. 250–251). He stayed briefly in Leiden, dining with Scaliger on 21 June and set out for Germany the following day (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 550–551). He had reached Strasbourg by July (ibid., 7, pp. 555–556). In Strasbourg he recalled a conversation he had had with Thomson in England: see ibid., 7, pp. 586–587, and see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599', note 44. For his life, see H. Hagen, *Jacobus Bongarsius: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gelehrten Studien des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts*, Bern, 1874; DBF, 1954, 6, cols 951–952; R. Kohlndorfer-Fries, *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik: die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jacques Bongars (1554–1612)*, Tübingen, 2009. Thomson refers again to Bongars' praise of Casaubon's edition of Polybius in Thomson to Casaubon, 21 October 1609.

10 Casaubon's edition of Polybius was published the following year: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609.

11 Casaubon was librarian of the Royal Library in Paris. It is not known whether he located these works for Thomson. The work *De fasciis* is no longer attributed to Galen.

12 Αὐτάδελφον κάρα: 'my dear brother'. Compare the first line of Sophocles' *Antigone*: Ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα. A similar turn of phrase is used in Casaubon to Thomson, 1 January 1597, Thomson to Perrot, 22 July 1600, and Thomson to Casaubon, 24 May 1608.

Thomson (Suffolk?) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 31 December [1608]

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 262r.

DATE: Dates in the Kalends of January are potentially ambiguous: see the general introduction to Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 1, p. lviii. The year is confirmed by Thomson's reference to Scaliger's illness. This refers to his final illness: by December 1609 Scaliger was dead.

ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon / À / Paris.

NOTE: Thomson's precise location is unclear. He had written two letters from Suffolk in the summer of 1608. The *Trinobantes* are usually placed in Essex or the southern portion of Suffolk: see Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, 5.20; 5.21; Tacitus, *Annales*, 14.31. If he had been writing from a town or city, he would doubtless have named it: the vagueness of 'ex Trinobantibus' suggests a country retreat.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson thanks Casaubon for his letter and for the Arabic proverbs, but is deeply worried by news of Scaliger's illness. They must pray for his recovery. Scaliger has had trouble eating for some years and claims that the damp Dutch air disagrees with him. Thomson is indignant at Casaubon's treatment by the authorities in Geneva, and wishes he were able to comfort him in person. Casaubon should turn to God in his difficulties. Thomson asks about the publication of Casaubon's much-anticipated edition of Polybius. He would like another copy of the printed portion of *De libertate ecclesiastica*: the Archbishop still has the copy Casaubon sent. Thomson sends his regards to Casaubon's family.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s.

Literas tuas et aureolum adagiorum Arabicorum libellum accepi.[1] Pro quo munere immortales tibi, ut par est, gratias ago. Utinam mihi aliquando occasio sit paria faciendi! Quamquam autem hoc munus iucundissimum mihi fuerit,

5 Quamquam] *sic* LBL

1 Casaubon's letter to Thomson has not survived. For the 'Libellus', a collection of Arabic proverbs with a Latin translation by Joseph Scaliger, see Thomson to Casaubon, 24 May 1608, note 7.

longe tamen acerbior fuit nuncius de adversa magni Scaligeri nostri valetudine, de qua pridie quam tuae mihi redderentur, Batavi mei indicium mihi fecerant.[2] Non possum tibi narrare, mi Casaubone, quomodo animum meum perculserit. Consideranti enim mihi summa illa Dei dona quibus Semonem illum prae caeteris fere omnibus praestare scimus, non tam privatum nostrum damnum (quanquam hoc quoque magnum sit) quam commune rei literariae, et ecclesiae lamentatio incessit. Sed scire debemus et meminisse simul veteris versiculi: Ζεύς αὐτὸς πάντως φάρμακα μοῦνος ἔχει.[3] Itaque Ille nobis serio sollicitandus est pro tam caro et raro capite. Morbus sane gravissimus est, et in senecto corpore evasu difficillimus, ex scorbuto hydrops.[4] De scorbuto diu est quod metuere caepi. Triennium enim est, et quod excurrit, ex quo cibum sibi in ore difficilem crescere querebatur, et tunc humiditatem aeris Batavici caussabatur.[5] De hydrope nunquam incessisset qui sciam continentissime et temperantissime illum semper vixisse. Deum veneror uti illum nobis omnibus aliquandiu hospitem et incolumem praestet.

Τὰ σου οἰκονομικὰ me valde vexant.[6] Utinam in alio quam in vobis crudelitatis et inhumanitatis suae exemplum nobis ostendissent Allobroges isti, omnium quotquot sunt, quotquod fuerunt danistarum sceleratissimi et crudelissimi![7] Et sane inconsulto abs te factum fuit, quod iis fidem habueris quorum lucrum et pecunia deus est, et illius daemonis sacris tantum operare soliti sunt. Experientia doctus hoc loquor. Sed quid facias, mi optime et praestantissime? Quod

8 πάντως] *sic* LBL 18 quotquod] *sic* LBL

2 The 'Batavi' are Thomson's Dutch correspondents. They included Dominicus Baudius, Johannes Drusius, Johannes de Laet, Petrus Scriverius and Bonaventura Vulcanius. No letter informing Thomson of Scaliger's illness has come to light. Scaliger died on 21 January 1609 after an illness lasting several weeks.

3 'Zeus alone has cures for everything at any rate'. Thomson has πάντως, probably a slip for πάντων. The sentiment is from Simonides of Ceos, *Simonidis Cei carminum reliquiae*, ed. F.G. Schneidewin, Braunschweig, 1835, fragment no. 65, p. 90, preserved in Joannes Stobaeus, *Eclogae Physicae*, I.6.

4 That is, a scurvy which has become a dropsy.

5 Others had made a similar diagnosis. Pierre Jeannin wrote to Scaliger from The Hague on 19 September 1608: 'Je crain que l'air humide de ce pays ne vous y soit contraire …' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 7, pp. 627–628).

6 Τὰ σου οἰκονομικὰ: 'your domestic matters'.

7 The Allobroges were an ancient Gaulish tribe, located south of the area between Lyon and Geneva. Casaubon believed that he had been wrongly deprived of his inheritance in Geneva: see his account of March 1608 in Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 587, p. 309.

periit, perditum ducas,[8] et Illius consilia et iudicia adora, qui haec talia quoque in meliora omnia convertere potest. Et procul dubio facturus est, si quidem ipsi nobis non defuerimus. Quam vellem coram esse, et ociose ac libere tecum super his et aliis tuis seorsum colloqui! Nullus dubito quin magno tibi alloquio futurus essem, et magnam tuarum curarum partem in me transcripturus. O sperne humilia haec, et altiora, ad quae natus es, cogita! 'Domini est terra, et plenitudo eius'.[9] Ille quod potest, etiam volet: tantum confide. Vide, clarissime Casaubone, quo me abripiat rerum tuarum consideratio. Συμπάσχω profecto, συμπάσχω, et haec talia indignatio exprimere solet.[10]

De Polybio, fac quaeso sciamus quos indies indiesque progressus faciat. Magna eius hic expectatio est, etiam in aula regia.[11] Pridem ad te scripsi, folia illa inchoati operis *De libertate ecclesiastica* quae ad me miseras a domino Archiepiscopo detineri.[12] Quaeso te ne graveris eorum alterum exemplum ad me mittere.[13]

Nunc Deus optimus maximus veneror ex animo, uti incolumem te tuosque omnes servet. Amen, amen, ὡς γένοιτο.[14] Iterum vale, anima mea, et vive. Lectissimae uxori et sorori salutem plurimam dico.

Ex Trinobantibus, Pridie Kal. Ianuarii M D CIX, quem annum tibi tuisque omnibus salutarem precor.

Thomson (Norfolk) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 5 August 1609

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 258r.
ADDRESS: À Monsieur / Monsieur Casaubon. / À / Paris.

3 ociose] *sic LBL* 9 \talia/ *LBL*

8 Compare Catullus, *Carmina*, 8.2: 'Et quod vides perisse perditum ducas'.

9 Psalms, 23 (24).1.

10 Συμπάσχω: 'I sympathise'.

11 Casaubon's edition of Polybius was published the following year: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609.

12 For the interest of Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Casaubon's incomplete treatise, see Thomson to Casaubon, 7 July 1608.

13 For the copy of *De libertate ecclesiastica* which Casaubon sent to Thomson, see Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 13 December 1607, and appendix 2, 'Thomson's Books', 'Printed Books', no. 27.

14 Ὡς γένοιτο: 'so may it be'.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson has received Casaubon's letter, and is relieved to learn that he is well, and that the publication of Polybius is underway. Thomson cannot identify the ancient author whom Casaubon intends to append to the edition. He regrets that its printers do not work faster, but is delighted that Casaubon has reserved a copy for him. He is also glad that King James' book pleased Casaubon, and now sends another by Andrewes on the same subject. He would like the opinion of Casaubon and his friends on the matter. He sends his regards to Casaubon's family.

Clarissimo praestantissimoque viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Literas quas a. d. VI Eid. Quintilis ad me dedisti heri accepi,[1] cum in eo essem uti per mercatores Francofurtenses nostros ad te scriberem,[2] aut saltem a nostratibus qui istic degunt de valetudine tua—quam non satis firmam esse inaudiveram—sciscitarer. Ea me cura et solicitudine tuae illae liberarunt. Ex eo enim quod affectam iam Polybii editionem serio te urgere ais, facile mihi fuit de valetudine tua longe aliter sperare.[3] Neque enim corporis caussarii et aegri hoc sive opus, sive onus est. Itaque Deo optimo maximo gratias agimus.

Quis vero ille tam vetustus scriptor sit quem Polybio tuo adiecisti, nulla equidem coniectura assequor.[4] Praeclarum profecto auctuarium esse necesse est, quod tam splendido operi adiungere sustinuisti. Nos et eius, et Polybii videndi desiderio pene conficimur. Male sit cessatoribus illis qui typographicas operas tam negligenter et lente obeunt! Caeterum quod istorum praestantissimorum auctorum exemplar mihi destinatum scribis, quibus modis aut verbis hanc comitatem et benevolentiam tuam prosequar, praestantissime Casaubone, satis redhostire me non posse sentio: animi abunde est quidem, sed non

1 This letter from Casaubon dated 10 July 1609 has not come to light. It is not mentioned in Casaubon's *Ephemerides*.

2 That is, by means of English merchants leaving for the autumn bookfair in Frankfurt.

3 Casaubon's edition of Polybius was published later in the year: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609.

4 Casaubon appended an edition of the Greek tactical writer Aeneas to his edition of Polybius: *Aeneae ... commentarius de toleranda obsidione. Is. Casaubonus primus vulgavit, Latinam interpretationem ac notas adiecit*, Paris, apud Hieronymum Drouardum, 1609.

rei item.[5] Quanquam quid ego haec ad te, quem alium omnino semper expertus sum?

Regis nostri librum placuisse vobis serio gaudeo.[6] Mitto tibi Episcopi Chicestrensis alium eiusdem argumenti, quem contra *Tortum* Bellarminum (ita enim iam certo intelleximus) edidit.[7] Quid tibi aliisque istic viris doctissimis et prudentissimis videatur, quaeso fac sciam. Nos rem bene gessisse arbitramur. Si propius Londino abessem, nihil hic prodiret aut in simili, aut alio te digno argumento, quod non statim ad te transmitterem. Nunc omnia apud vos vulgata fere antequam nos ea videamus.

Vale, praestantissime et incomparabilis vir, et me quod facis ama. Deum veneror uti incolumem et sospitam te tuosque omnes servet. Lectissimae uxori et liberis salutem dico officiosissimam et amicissimam.

A. d. Non. Sextilis Iuliani M D CIX, ex Icenis Norfolciae.[8]

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5 For the copy of Polybius sent to Thomson, see his letter to Casaubon of 21 October 1609.

6 Casaubon has read the following work: *Apologia pro iuramento fidelitatis: primum quidem ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΣ: nunc vero ab ipso auctore, serenissimo ac potentiss. principe, Iacobo, Dei gratia, magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rege, fidei defensore, denuo edita. Cui praemissa est praefatio monitoria, sacratiss. Caesari Rodolpho II semper augusto, caeterisque Christiani orbis sereniss. ac potentiss. monarchis ac regibus: illustriss. celsissimisque liberis principibus, rebus publicis atque ordinibus inscripta, eodem auctore*, London, John Norton, 1609. It had been published in English, French and Latin, in England and on the continent. The *Apologia* had first been published without the *Praefatio monitoria* in London in 1607.

7 The Bishop of Chichester was Lancelot Andrewes. The work in question is: *Tortura Torti: sive, Ad Matthaei Torti librum responsio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam serenissimi potentissimique principis, Iacobi, Dei gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Regis, pro Iuramento fidelitatis*, London, Robert Barker, 1609. It was produced in response to a work by Robert Bellarmine published under a transparent pseudonym: *Responsio Matthaei Torti presbyteri, et theologi Papiensis, ad librum inscriptum, Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*, Cologne, sumptibus Bernardi Gualtheri, 1608. For the controversy, see chapter 25, 'Thomson's *Elenchus*, 1611', and S. Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 117–158.

8 Camden stated that the British tribe of the Iceni occupied an area which included Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire (*Britannia, sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio*, London, impensis Georgii Bishop et Ioannis Norton, 1607, pp. 329–370). Thomson used the name in other letters of this period: Thomson to Casaubon, 24 May 1608 ('Suffolciae Icenorum') and Thomson to Casaubon, 7 July 1608 ('ex Icenis Suffolck.').

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (Paris) 21 October 1609

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 260r–v.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo praestantissimoque / viro / Isaaco Casaubono. / Parisios.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson was delighted to receive Casaubon's letter and the edition of Polybius, but regrets that he was unable to thank the courier. Casaubon's preface establishes Polybius as a good guide to contemporary politicians, who have relied far too much on Machiavelli and writers like him. Thomson does not believe that Henri IV's love for Casaubon is diminished, but if it is, Casaubon's preface will rekindle it. Casaubon's commentary on Polybius, of which Bongars spoke highly, must also be published. Thomson hopes they will be able to talk in person about a difficulty raised by Casaubon in his preface. He sends his regards to Casaubon's family, and entrusts the present letter to a promising student of literature.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Literae tuae, quas una cum expectatissimo Polybio ad me dedisti, fideliter mihi redditae fuerunt.[1] Tamen quis illas in Anglia detulerit et postea ad me mittendas curaverit, iuxta cum ignarissimis scio.[2] Itaque quae humanissimo viro eo nomine debebantur gratiae, meis quidem ingratiis ipsi perierunt. Nisi, quod spero, huc ad nos aliquando cogitet, et post perlectum Polybium cum grandi foenore illas a me expectet.[3] Multum sane me illi debere fateor. Tibi vero, praestantissime Casaubone, quantum pro eo munere debeam, si calamo hoc exprimere coner, id vero esset meam inscitiam palam traducere.

Interim immortales tibi gratias ago pro tam praestanti et praeclaro auctore ad me misso, qui hactenus cadaver potius historici quam historicus fuit. Et vere tu de eo in prolegomenis indicas prudentissimum scriptorem et politicis

1 Casaubon's letter to Thomson has not survived. Casaubon sent: *Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit*, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

2 The courier, unknown to Thomson, has not been identified.

3 'Illas', *sc.* gratias.

prae caeteris utilissimum esse.[4] Utinam vero etiam persuadeas ipsis familiarem uti sibi faciant Polybium frequenti et quotidiana lectione! Sed hoc ut obtineas apud ipsos valde vereor. Nescio enim quo seculi nostri malo accidat ut, praeter Machiavellum et similes quosdam, nemo politicus, nemo consultus censeatur; et ille demum multum in civili ista prudentia profecisse putet cui solus placeat Nicolaus iste.[5] Et tamen spes est fore aliquos ex miratoribus illis Machiavelli, qui si prolegomena tua (Deus bone, quo iudicio et qua prudentia scripta et temperata!) paullo diligentius legere sustinebunt, magnam istius praeceptae et sententiae suae partem deponant.[6]

Sed quid ego scholasticus homo ad te de his rebus? Et quidem qui Parisiis, florentissima Europae nostrae urbe, politicorum nutricula, degis? Sed quid audio? Aversiorem a te magnum illum Regem?[7] Non existimo; aut si quid frigusculi fuit quod Loiolitae et similes conciliarant tibi, nullus dubito quin hac προσφωνήσει tua in calidissimum amorem verterit.[8] Et cave sis unquam in animum inducas uti divinos tuos in Polybium commentarios tollas, quos Bongarsius a Rege et aulicis summopere expectari istic mihi serio asseveravit.[9] Quantopere nostri illos desiderent, puto me aliquoties per literas monuisse, ut iam bonorum omnium et doctorum vota non memorem—qui profecto fallere nullo modo debes.

Observavi quod in fine τῶν προλεγομενῶν quaerebaris, et animitus ingemui.[10] Tamen quid consilii in medium conferam non habeo. Deus faxit uti aliquando

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9 et] *om.* LBL 10 quidem] *i. m.* LBL 16 expectari ~~xxx~~ LBL 21 \conferam/ LBL

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4 The lengthy *Prolegomena* to Casaubon's Polybius, addressed to Henri IV of France, are reprinted in Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 2, pp. 54–89.

5 'Nicolaus iste' is still Niccolò Machiavelli.

6 The thrust of Thomson's criticism is not that statesmen read Machiavelli, but that they are overly dependent on him.

7 Thomson refers to Casaubon's patron, Henri IV of France, not to James I of England.

8 'hac προσφωνήσει tua': 'by this preface of yours'.

9 For Thomson's conversation with Jacques Bongars on the subject of Casaubon's Polybius, see Thomson to Casaubon, 7 July 1608. Casaubon published the Greek text of Polybius with his own Latin translation. The commentary was to be published in a separate volume, but only a fragment was published after the death of its author: *Isaaci Casauboni ad Polybii Historiarum librum primum commentarii. Ad Iacobum I Magnae Britanniae Regem Serenissimum*, Paris, Stephanus, 1617.

10 Τῶν προλεγομενῶν: 'of your prefatory matter'. Towards the end of his essay *De prioribus Polybii interpretibus et nova hac version*, Casaubon complains of those who are too ready to criticise the translations of others. He promises to publish a work on translation, *De optimo genere interpretandi*, with his commentary on Polybius (*Polybii Lycortae f. Megalopolitani*

coram de his aliis talibus loqui liceat. Interim non cessabo omnia movere tui caussa. Sed proxime prolixiores expecta. Nunc festinat qui has ad te fert, iuvenis bonae indolis et spei qui hic aliquandiu civiliter et cum laude operam literis dedit.[11]

Vale, clarissime et praestantissime virorum, seculi nostri unicum decus. Lectissimae uxori et liberis omnibus salutem. Deum veneror uti incolumem te nobis diu diuque servet, et a malorum omnium sycophantiis et circumscriptionibus vindicet. Γένοιτο, γένοιτο.[12]

Cantabrigiae, XII Cal. Novembris M D CIX.

Isaac Casaubon (Paris) to Thomson [Cambridge?] 28 December 1609

COPY: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 9, pp. 195–196.

PRINT: Meric Casaubon, *Pietas contra maledicos patrii nominis, et religionis hostes*, London, ex officina bibliopolarum, 1621, pp. 56–58.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1638, no. 605, pp. 707–708.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1656, no. 569, pp. 630–631.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 3, no. 652, pp. 339–340.
Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 4, pp. 84–85.

DATE: Dates in the Kalends of January are potentially ambiguous: see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 1, pp. lviii. The printed tradition of this letter assigns it the year 1610, while the Oxford manuscript supplies, and deletes, the year 1609. The year of the present letter is confirmed by the fact that Casaubon writes from Paris: by December 1610 he was in England.

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historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit, et commentariis illustravit, Paris, apud H. Drouardum, 1609, sigs u5v–u6r; Casaubon, *Epistolae*, 1709, part 2, pp. 97–98). This seems to be the passage to which Thomson alludes here. Thomson at this date was working on the new English translation of the Bible, sponsored by James I. Casaubon's work on translation was never published.

11 This courier has not been identified.

12 Γένοιτο, γένοιτο: 'so be it, so be it'. The formula occurs in the Greek version of the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms: Numbers 5.22; Judith 13.20; Psalms 40.13; 71.19; 88.52; 105.48 (Septuagint). Thomson used it in his letter to Casaubon of 7 July 1608.

TEXT: The Oxford copy of this letter has been prepared for the press. All the Greek passages are supplied with neat Latin translations in the margin. However, none of the editions of the present letter print these translations.
The penultimate paragraph (p. 347, lines 12–18) does not appear in any of the early editions and is printed here for the first time from the Oxford manuscript. This paragraph has its Greek passages translated in the margin, but it has been marked for exclusion.
The letter was printed twice in the edition of 1709: first as part of Isaac Casaubon's correspondence, and second as part of the reprint of Meric Casaubon's *Pietas*.

NOTE: Casaubon may have addressed the present letter to Thomson in Cambridge, but he was in London at this date. Nathaniel Taylor wrote to Casaubon from Cambridge on 20 December 1609 o.s.: 'Tomson noster bene valet, et te plurimum amat. Cum ista scriberem domi non erat, sed Londini .... Audivi enim cum diceret se brevi ad te scripturum' (London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 217^{v}).

SYNOPSIS: Casaubon is glad that Thomson values his edition of Polybius. It was prepared under difficult conditions, as Tomkis will recount when he returns to England. He is besieged by attempts to convert him, and is unable to write freely, but he resists his adversaries in open debate and places his trust in God. Casaubon's commentary on Polybius will never be finished while the Cardinal makes such strenuous efforts to convert him. These efforts have the support of the King.

Isaacus Casaubonus Richardo Thomsoni suo s. d.

Gavisus sum non displicuisse tibi Polybium nostrum, quamquam scio quid intersit amorem inter et iudicium.[1] Ubi serio legeris quae sunt a nobis profecta, invenies, scio, quae reprehendas multa et gravia. Sed memineris, in ea urbe illa me scripsisse ubi alia omnia mihi curanda potius sunt quam studia. Scit hoc Tomkys noster, qui aliquot iam menses apud nos agit: ille in patriam reversus

1 Isaacus ... s. d.] Richardo Thomsoni *c-1656*, *c-1709* eidem *c-1638* 2 quamquam] quanquam *OBL* 5 me] *om. c-1638*, *c-1656*

1 The present letter is a reply to Thomson to Casaubon, 21 October 1609.

tibi narrabit quibus machinis, quam assidua opera, quam variis artibus mecum ab iis agatur qui traducere me ad alia castra conantur.[2] Feci et facio quotidie omnia ut me semel liberem—scit hoc quoque ille idem amicus noster—sed frustra.[3] Itaque velim nolim, theologiae studiis cogor ἐνδιατρίβειν:[4] quid proficiam, scirent οἱ ἐξ ἐναντίας, si liberum mihi esset scripto persequi cogitationes meas.[5] Nunc quod unum superest id facio assidue, ut quantum τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐντάλματα, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀπωλείας averser atque abominer, palam et alta voce quotidie in os declarem.[6] Quid mihi ex ea re sit metuendum, satis intelligo; et fungus sim, si non videam. Sed nos dudum et nos et nostra omnia Deo optimo maximo permisimus. Ille, spero, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πειρασμοῖς aderit, et adversus πάντα τὰ δεινὰ nos firmabit.[7]

Σὺ δὲ, ὠ τάν, τοῦτο ἐν φρεσί κάτθεο σῇσιν, ὅτι ὀργᾷ νῦν τὰ πὰρ᾽ ἡμῖν πράγματα, καὶ μένουσιν ἡμᾶς (κατ᾽ ἄνθρωπον λέγω) ταραχαὶ οὐχ αἱ τυχούσαι.[8] Itaque si tibi nostra curae, Deum pro nobis ora ἀδιαλείπτως.[9] Hoc et omnium consors mearum curarum fidelis a te vehementer petit. Quodsi per tua negotia tibi liceret, tuis literis saepius, credo, nos beares. Scito sororis meae negotia graviorem cumulum afferre caeteris meis aerumnis, sic me misellae miseret. O pietatem Lacus Lemani impiam! Ἐξίσταμαι τῶν φρένων.[10]

De Polybii commentario si quaeris, ille vero iacet, et aeternum iacebit, dum mihi cum purpurato viro maximo assiduae de religione contentiones erunt.[11] Is

4 studiis] stadiis *OBL* 12–18 σὺ δὲ … φρένων] *om. C-1621, C-1638, C-1656, C-1709, Pietas 1709*

2 'Ad alia castra': that is, to the Roman Catholic church. 'Tomkys' is Thomas Tomkis, best known as a playwright. For his visit to Paris, see chapter 24, 'Bringing Casaubon to England, 1607–1610'.

3 The 'amicus' is Tomkis.

4 Ἐνδιατρίβειν: 'to spend time on'.

5 Οἱ ἐξ ἐναντίας: 'those of the opposing faction'.

6 For τὰ ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων, 'the commandments of men', see Matthew 15.9; Mark 7.7; Colossians 2.22. For ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, 'the son of perdition', that is, the Antichrist, see 2 Thessalonians 2.3.

7 Ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πειρασμοῖς: 'in all temptations'. Πάντα τὰ δεινὰ: 'all evils'. A faint echo of the Lord's Prayer, Matthew 6.13.

8 'And you, my friend, store up this in your heart: that our business is now growing ripe, and (to speak in purely human terms) no small troubles remain for us'. Compare Homer, *Odyssey*, XI.455: σὺ δ᾽ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσι.

9 Ἀδιαλείπτως: 'unceasingly'.

10 Ἐξίσταμαι τῶν φρένων: 'I am driven out of my senses'. At this point, a marginal note in a different hand in Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 9, p. 195, reads: 'Uxor Pauli Stephani, suis bonis exuta, per Syndicos Genevenses, marito suo absente, accusato et damnato'.

11 This ecclesiastic is Cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron. On the day he wrote the present

est qui omnibus in hoc regno literatis, ac nominatim τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ βασιλέως, praeest.[12] Non puto maius extare hodie ingenium. Cum hoc viro assidue versans propter munus meum,[13] assidue dimico: ἀλλ᾽ ἴσθι γίνεσθαι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ κελεύσεως τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος.[14] Quare post absolutam versionem Polybii, illa studia ne salutavi quidem πόρρωθεν, et omnino pessimo loco res studiorum nostrorum sunt positae.[15] Deus nos respiciat; στενοχωρούμεθα γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα λίαν.[16]

Vale.

Lutetiae Parisiorum, V Kalend. Ianuarii, quas Kalendas opto tibi foelicissimas, M D CX.

Thomas Tomkis [Paris] to [Thomson] [Cambridge] 20 January [1610]

COPY: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 9, fol. 197r.

DATE: The letter is *sine anno*. At the head of the leaf is written: 'A copie of a letter sent from Mr Tomkys, from Paris Jan. 20'. The year is supplied by Tomkis' visit to Paris in late 1609 – early 1610.

NOTE: For the circumstances surrounding this letter, see chapter 24, 'Bringing Casaubon to England, 1607–1610'. It is bound in the Oxford manuscript after a copy of 1609 12 28, from

1 ἀμφὶ] ἀμοὶ *Pietas 1709* 9 V] a. d. V *c-1709*, *Pietas 1709* ‖ felicissimas *c-1656*, *c-1709*, *Pietas 1709* 10 M D CX] ~~M D CIX~~ *OBL*

letter, Casaubon recorded in his diary: 'Apud Cardinalem Perronium hodie fui, virum certe magnum; utinam bonae semper doctrinae propugnatorem. Illum Deus fingat promovendae suae gloriae utilem, et nos omnes. Amen' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 702). Casaubon's commentary on Polybius was never published in full, and apparently never completed. A fragment was published after the death of its author: *Isaaci Casauboni ad Polybii Historiarum librum primum commentarii. Ad Iacobum I Magnae Britanniae Regem Serenissimum*, Paris, Stephanus, 1617.

12 Τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ βασιλέως: 'to those who are connected with the Royal Library'.

13 Casaubon's 'munus' is his position as librarian of the Royal Library in Paris.

14 Ἀλλ᾽ ἴσθι γίνεσθαι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ κελεύσεως τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος: 'but know that these things have not happened without Agamemnon's order'. That is, Du Perron's attempts to convert Casaubon are sanctioned by Henri IV ('Agamemnon'). Casaubon falls into Greek to discuss the King's strategem. In this letter Casaubon uses 'assidue' and its cognates five times.

15 'Ne … quidem πόρρωθεν': 'not even from a distance'.

16 Στενοχωρούμεθα γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα λίαν: 'for we are in very straitened circumstances'. Perhaps an allusion to 2 Corinthians 6.12.

Casaubon, which deals with similar matters and mentions Tomkis. The addressee is not identified, but circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that the letter was sent to Thomson in Cambridge. [1] The recipient knows Casaubon well. [2] He is in regular correspondence with Casaubon. [3] Casaubon has welcomed Tomkis into his house in Paris for the sake of his relationship with the recipient. [4] The recipient is in contact with Butler at Cambridge, probably William Butler the physician (1535–1618), like Thomson a fellow of Clare. Before Casaubon's arrival in England in the autumn of 1610, Thomson was the only Englishman to have such a well-established relationship with Casaubon.

Sir,

You are often remembred heere. Mr Casaubon is dayly tormented with tempters from the Kinge to chainge his religion: augmentation of pension, preferring of his children, honor, plate, and many other benefitts are profered to him; but he most manfully forsakes all, and remaines unmoveable.

That content I receive in being in his house, you that knowe the admirablenes of his learning may conceive. If the next tyme you write to him you would thanke him for me, you should do me a greate pleasure; for he haith done much for me for your sake, reading every day an hower to me.

I pray you commend me to Mr Buttler at Cambridge. I commend my selfe to you, and rest ever,

Your loving freind,

Th. Tomkys.

Thomson (London) to Thomas Jermyn **21 June 1611**

PRINT: Thomson, *Elenchus refutationis Torturae Torti pro reverendissimo in Christo patre domino Episcopo Eliense, adversus Martinum Becanum Iesuitam*, London, Robert Barker, 1611, sigs A3r–A4r.

SYNOPSIS: Thomson sends his little book which he has written against Becanus in defence of Andrewes. His worthless adversary does not deserve a more substantial refutation. The case advanced

by the Jesuits in support of Papal power lacks any scholarly foundation, but they maintain it vigorously nevertheless.

Nobilissimo et strenuissimo militi Thomae Iermyn, amico honorando.

Mitto tibi, domine, adventus mei prodromum nuncium: libellum hunc, quem pro reverendissimo Ecclesiae nostrae antistite contra Becanum properavi.[1] Exiguum quidem illum et tenuem, sed quem maiorem aut operosiorem esse non volui. Nolui enim honorem habere homini scribillatori, qui putido et strigoso libellulo tantum virum impetere ausus fuit. Satis esse putavi stuporem ipsius in hoc quidem argumento in scenam producere, et quam in omnibus ac ubique ineptierit (gravius hic nihil dicam) ostendere. Profecto cauponantur hodie, non belligerant patres Societatis.[2] In controversia de potestate Regum et Papae prorsus ipsis aqua haeret.[3] Scripturas nullas habent, nullos habent Patres.[4] Canonistae et scholastici non magis inter se conveniunt quam horologia aut philosophi. Et tamen his omnibus destituti, tam fatuum orbem Christianum esse existimant ut suam de Papae omnipotentia, aut etiam, si vis, omnipraesentia, sententiam persuaderi illi posse sperent. Itaque undique concurrunt, libros in omni terrarum parte super hac quaestione procudunt, praesertim postquam belli signum ex Britannia magnus Iacobus noster extulit.[5] Summa hoc iam solum quaeritur, solum controvertitur: quid iuris in principes et eorum regna habeat Papa. Alia omnia sopita et composita videntur. Sed de his alias et coram, Deo benevolente. Nolo prologus fabula productior sit.[6]

Vale, et hoc qualecunque observantiae meae erga te testimonium benigne accipe.

Londini, a. d. XI Kal. Iulii M D CXI.

---

1 Iermiin *1611* 9 Papae] PP *1611* 13 Papae] PP *1611* 18 Papa] PP *1611*

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1 The 'Antistes' is Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely. For the context of Thomson's work, see chapter 25, 'Thomson's *Elenchus*, 1611'.

2 That is, the Society of Jesus.

3 Compare Erasmus, *Adagia*, no. 400: 'in aqua haeret'.

4 That is, they can cite none of the church Fathers in support of their position.

5 This refers to a recent work by King James I: *Apologia pro iuramento fidelitatis: primum quidem ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΣ: nunc vero ab ipso auctore, serenissimo ac potentiss. principe, Iacobo, Dei gratia, magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rege, fidei defensore, denuo edita. Cui praemissa est praefatio monitoria … eodem auctore*, London, John Norton, 1609. It had been published in English, French and Latin, in England and on the continent.

6 Perhaps an allusion to Horace's remarks on dramatic proportion: 'Neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu / fabula quae posci volt et spectata reponi' (*Ars poetica*, 189–190).

Thomson (Bury) to Isaac Casaubon (Downham) 21 August 1611

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 264r.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo et praestantissimo / viro / Isaaco Casaubono / At Downam hard by Elye.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson has received news from Cambridge that the Master of Clare Hall is gathering signatures on a letter critical of Thomson, and that Bishop Andrewes is to be asked to pass judgement on Thomson's behaviour and competence. Thomson believes that he is certainly more able than his rival. He asks Casaubon to intercede with the Bishop on his behalf. Thomson will visit the Bishop himself on Thursday, and asks Casaubon to delay his departure until Friday.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono suo Richardus Thomson s. d.

Hodie hac ipsa hora Buriae ex concione abiens accepi Cantabrigia literas, clarissime Casaubone.[1] Iis significabant amici Praefectum Collegii nostri[2] non tantum in Academia sollicitare praecipuos aliquot viros uti subscribant nescio cui libello quem in opprobrium meum calumniose concinnarunt, sed—quod praecipue mihi cordolio est—etiam reverendissimum Episcopum Eliensem convenire ausos super moribus ac vita mea, imo (quod ridiculum prorsus est) super insufficientia regiminis.[3] Quasi scilicet tam inconsultus sim aut imperitus ut scholasticis disputationibus et similibus officiis gubernandis et praestandis praeesse non possim! Sane respublica Anglicana et regni negocia si nobis tractanda essent, faterer me inidoneum.[4] Verum cum res sit mere

11 negocia] *sic LBL*

1 The letter which Thomson received from Cambridge has not survived.

2 The Master of Clare Hall, Thomson's college, was William Smith, appointed 24 March 1601. Thomson and other fellows had opposed his appointment: for the controversy, see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599'.

3 The Bishop of Ely was Lancelot Andrewes, in whose defence Thomson had written a theological treatise a few months earlier: see chapter 25, 'Thomson's *Elenchus*, 1611', and Thomson to Jermyn, 21 June 1611. Andrewes is probably the supportive bishop mentioned in Thomson to Casaubon, 18 November 1611.

4 The adjective 'inidoneus' is not classical. Thomson may have picked it up from Erasmus: 'Erasmus Roterodamus frequentat sine veterum, quod scio, auctoritate' (J.F. Noltenius, *Lexicon Latinae linguae quadripartitum*, 3rd edn, Berlin and Stralsund, 1780, p. 585).

scholastica et scholastici regiminis, audeo dicere me longe illi obscuro et indocto homini, qui nullum unquam exercitium scholasticum publice (nam domi nullum omnino) nisi cum Collegii nostri dedecore et ignominia obivit, praestare.[5] Quare te obnixe pro veteri nostra amicitia rogatum volo uti ante discessum tuum (quem audio cras futurum) reverendissimum dominum Episcopum serio convenias, et uti mei rationem habeat, etiam atque etiam obtesteris.

Hodie me expedire et itineri accingere non potui; cras, nisi maior vis impediat, Deo bene volente, me coram ipso sistam, rem meam et omnem caussam reverentiae ipsius commendaturus. Tu, nisi incommodum sit, in diem Veneris profectionem tuam differ.[6] Interim vale, vir optime et praestantissime, ac me quod facis ama. Reverendissimo domino Episcopo me meaque omnia dico, addico.

XXI Augusti. Burie. 1611.

Thomson (Cambridge) to Isaac Casaubon (London) 18 November 1611

AUTOGRAPH: London, British Library, Burney 366, fol. 265r.
ADDRESS: Clarissimo et praestantissimo / viro / Isaaco Casaubono. / amico summo. / Londinum.
SYNOPSIS: Thomson thanks Casaubon for his letter and the book, which he greatly admires. He has heard a rumour that Casaubon is writing a work of religious controversy for the King. He does not know how to win the Archbishop's favour for his own project, and he will remain silent if necessary. The Bishop, at least, lent his support. Tomkis has reported the arrival of Casaubon's family, and Thomson send them his regards.

2 scholasticum ~~vel~~ *LBL* 14 Augusti] August. ~~Elie~~ *LBL*

5 The 'obscurus et indoctus homo', apparently Thomson's rival for the position, has not been identified. He seems to have been a fellow of Clare Hall. The post in question was Senior Proctor of the University: see chapter 26, 'Final Years and Death'.

6 The present letter was written on Wednesday 21 August, according to the Julian calendar. Casaubon had apparently planned to leave Downham the following day, a Thursday. Thomson asks him to delay his departure until Friday, so that he has time to see both Casaubon and the Bishop on Thursday. From Casaubon's diary, we learn that he spent Friday 23 August o.s. (= 4 Non. Sept. n.s.) with Thomson and Andrewes, and set out for London on 28 August o.s. (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, pp. 876–877).

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Isaaco Casaubono Richardus Thomson s. d.

Literas tuas quas una cum libro a. d. XXV Octobris ad me dederas, nudius quartus accepi.[1] Male sit tabellario qui illas domi suae reliquerat. Pro libro tibi ingentes gratias ago, quem tamen antea bis perlegeram, idque magna cum voluptate.[2] Mirifice nos hic aliquot affecit. Quamprimum enim prodiit, ad lectionem eius statim concurrimus et avide perlegimus.

Quo in negocio nunc a serenissimo Rege occuperis, non equidem certo scio; coniicio tamen te responsionem parare ad illustrissimi ..... literas.[3] Tenuis enim eius rei fama aures nostras accidit. Quicquid sit, nullus dubito quin maiestati regiae plane satisfacturus sis, et reverendissimo Archiepiscopo.[4]

Huius gratiam quo modo mihi conciliem, viam nullam invenire aut aperire hactenus possum. Ubi Londinum rediero, aliquid excogitabimus. Ego omnia facere paratus sum quae virum bonum et constantem decent. Veritatem nunquam deseram. Silere possum, et silebo.[5] Scio quo animo quidam in aula sint erga me. Ea de re monent me multi et nobilissimi viri, etiam Comites. Et simul qualem se in negocio illo erga me declaraverit Episcopus ὁ πάνυ, iidem amici et domini significarunt.[6] Reverendissimum illum praesulem quo affectu colam, magis intus sentire quam verbis exprimere possum. Ego me meaque omnia ipsi addico.

8 negocio] *sic LBL* 10 aures ... accidit] *sic LBL* 17 negocio] *sic LBL*

1 Casaubon's letter to Thomson has not survived.

2 Thomson has read: *Isaaci Casauboni ad Frontonem Ducaeum S.I. theologum epistola: in qua de apologia disseritur communi Iesuitarum nomine ante aliquot menses Lutetiae Parisiorum edita*, London, John Norton, 1611. He was billed 1s 6d for a copy of this book by the bookseller Thomas Walker on 26 October 1611: see Cambridge, University Library, Vice Chancellor's Court records, VCCT. III.18, item no. 83.

3 Thomson himself concealed the name. He is probably referring to: *Isaaci Casauboni Ad epistolam illustr. et reverendiss. Cardinalis Perronii*, London, John Norton, 1612. The work was complete before the end of December: 'IV Kal. Ian. ... Hodie epistola Regis iussu scripta ad Cardinalem Perronium est missa. Faxit Deus ut ad gloriam ipsius promovendam id aliquid conducat. Amen' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 904).

4 The Archbishop of Canterbury was George Abbot, appointed in March 1611.

5 Thomson probably alludes to his *Diatriba de iustificatione*, complete but unpublished at his death in 1613: see chapter 27, 'Thomson's Legacy: The *Diatriba*, 1616'.

6 The Bishop was probably Lancelot Andrewes.

Uxorem et liberos advenisse, Tomkys noster mihi significavit.[7] Gaudeo ex animo quod ea cura et solicitudine defunctus sis. Rogo uti eam nomine meo officiosissime salutes.

Vale, praestantissime Casaubone, et me ama qui te aeternum.

Cantabrigiae, a. d. XVIII Novembris M D CXI.

7 The playwright Thomas Tomkis, also mentioned in Casaubon to Thomson, 28 December 1609, *q. v.* Casaubon recorded the arrival of his family in London in his diary on 2 November 1611 (23 October according to the Julian calendar): 'IV Non. Nov. Domum hodie redii ἀπήμαντος πρὸς ἀπήμαντον uxorem et totum domum. Deo optimo maximo laus, honos et gloria. Amen' (Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, 1850, 2, p. 896).

APPENDIX 1

Thomson's Poetry

Four short Latin poems are extant from Thomson's pen. These are occasional pieces: one was written in an *Album amicorum*, and three were prefaced to works of scholarship.

1. Verses in the *Album amicorum* of Janus Dousa *pater*, Leiden University Library, BPL 1406, fol. 140r. The text of the Album is edited in C.L. Heesakkers, *Een Netwerk aan de basis van de Leidse universiteit: Het album amicorum van Janus Dousa*, Leiden, 2000, where Thomson's entry is on pp. 514–515. The entire album is reproduced in facsimile as the second volume.

> Pacuvius: Non ulli vita propria in vita est.[1]
>
> Iano Dousae Musarum genio Martis alumno Patri Patriae Richardus Thomson φιλοδουσιαδης amoris et observantiae perpetuae testandae causa libenter merito posuit.
>
> Hic ille Dousa quem Parnasseo in iugo
> aperta fovit musicam immulgens opem,
> cuique expedivit artes ipsa bellicas
> patrima virgo. Et hoc citante vidimus
> trinas volare nostrum in orbem Gratias.
> Hic ille Dousa qui tot annos oscinis
> Pieriaeque voci' suscitabulum[2]
> fluenta Marnae Hollandicae propter cluit
> cui longa porro fila Parcae collegant.

2. Verses prefaced to Vulcanius' edition of Agathias, *Agathiae, Historici et Poetae eximii, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque: Graece nunquam antehac*

1 This fragment from the lost *Medea* of Lucius Accius (not Pacuvius) is preserved in Nonius Marcellus, *De compendiosa doctrina*, 361, *s. v.* 'Proprium'. See E.H. Warmington, ed. *Remains of Old Latin*, 3 vols, London and Cambridge, MA, 1936, 2, no. 411–412, pp. 464–465.

2 Thomson makes use of a fragment of Varro preserved in Nonius Marcellus, *De compendiosa doctrina*, 176, *s. v.* 'suscitabulum'.

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editi. Ex bibliotheca et interpretatione Bonaventurae Vulcanii. Cum notis eiusdem, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1594, sig. **3v (but signed **5). Verses were also contributed to this volume by Joseph Scaliger, Franco Duyck, Jeremias Bastinck, Paullus Merula, Pierre Du Moulin, Petrus Bertius, and Janus a Wouweren (Woverius).

Richardus Thomson.

Quo me Calliope vocas
    intermissa diu? Parce precor, precor.
Non sum qui bene nervias
    gubernem, artifici aut barbiton harmoge.
Defunctam paries chelyn
    iam pridem, et citharam servat inutilem,
quin si Mulciberem paras
    clarare egregiae laudis adorea,
et caelo inserere arduo
vectum perpetui carminis alite.
Ecquis Callimacho prior,
    qui lauru Latia implicitus comas
vates, Elysiis iugis,
    Musaeo potior, carmina dividit?
Cuius si citharae tamen
    aptari nequeat Mulciber, inclytum
quamvis illa Diespitrem
    Dianam, et teneras aurea, virgines
et Phoebum celebret patrem.
O divum, o hominum Calliope quies
in Collem hinc Heliconium,
    Musarumque choros transfer amabiles,
ut mistus dea Gratiis
    ad dextrum sedeat clarus Apollinem.
Mox lauru Poluhymnia[3]
    vescentem resonet praepete barbito.

Idem.

3 Sic, although the word is POLVHYMNIA in type and the setter may have run out of 'Y's.

Agathiam ut vidit caelo Belisarius alto,
qua sacra Iunonis lacte respersa via est,
iam tersum prodire, et docto pumice rasum,
atque adeo amissae iam reducem patriae,
'Quas', inquit, 'referam grates tibi, magne virorum
Vulcani, cuius munere et ingenio
nunc vivit bonus Agathias? Ego denique factus
clarior, ereptos non querar hinc oculos?'

3. Verses prefaced to Jan Gruter's commentaries on the works of Seneca: *Iani Gruteri Animadversiones in L. Annaei Senecae opera*, [Heidelberg], ex typographeio Hieronymi Commelini, 1594, p. viii. Verses were also contributed to this edition by Paulus Melissus, Johannes Postius, Marquard Freher, Georgius Remus, Conradus Rittershusius and Tobias Scultetus. Thomson's short contribution is the last in the sequence. Gruter's preface is dated Heidelberg 11 March 1594, a likely *terminus ante quem* for Thomson's verses.

Hospes quid miras Senecam evitasse Neronem?
Nempe etiam matrem sustulit ille suam.
Hoc potius mira, Seneca [*sic*] curasse Gruterum,
et superam in lucem restituisse sophum.
Scilicet haut illi voluit Fortuna licere,
quod non Gruteri corrigeretur ope.

APPENDIX 2

Thomson's Library

This appendix details twenty-four manuscripts and thirty-five printed books which belonged, or probably belonged, to Thomson. Of the manuscripts, eleven have been identified with some certainty; of the printed books, twelve extant volumes have been identified, positively or tentatively, as Thomson's. There are a further twenty-three printed books detailed here which Thomson is likely to have owned, although his personal copy has not been located. These are recorded to enable future researchers to identify them.

Thomson's network of contacts, his travels on the continent, and his regular visits to the Frankfurt bookfairs, enabled him to acquire books from across Europe. His copies of Pseudo-Scymnus and the Triclinian *Sphaera* were made in Leiden in 1594 from manuscripts in Scaliger's possession (nos 3 and 21). Some of the most valuable manuscripts were bought in Italy, during his visit of 1597–1599. These include a manuscript of Stobaeus (no. 2), two manuscripts of Proclus (nos 4–5), the lexicon of Photius (no. 6), copies of Athenaeus Mechanicus (no. 7) and Sextus Empiricus (no. 12), probably a text of Aulus Gellius (no. 16) and perhaps one of Xenophon (no. 22). Most of Thomson's Italian purchases are of Greek works, which were much easier to find in Italy than in northern Europe. Three manuscripts of Latin classical texts came to him from the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge (nos 8–10). They were probably acquired by Thomson in the 1590s: in any event, they are not recorded in James' catalogue of the college library published in 1600.[1]

Thomson's printed books also reflect his travels and his friendships. He may have acquired his copy of Gregory Nazianzenus in the Low Countries (no. 5). His copy of Arnobius was given to him by Henry Savile (no. 6). His copies of Isaac Casaubon's editions of Athenaeus and Suetonius, of Casaubon's treatise on satire, and of Casaubon's *De libertate ecclesiastica*, were all given to him by Casaubon himself (nos 17, 18, 23, 27, 31). These five volumes are extant today, but we also know that Casaubon gave or lent his friend at least another nine books (nos 7, 10, 13, 16, 24–26, 28, 33). Some of his printed books, of course, he bought in Cambridge. A bill from the Cambridge bookseller Thomas Walker survives, showing that in 1611 Thomson was buying printed books on contemporary religious controversy, including several copies of his own recently-printed theological tract (nos 33–35).[2]

1 James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, 1600, pp. 126–136.

2 Cambridge, University Library, Vice-Chancellor's Court Records, VCCT. III.18, item no. 83:

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Sometimes these books can be identified because Thomson or a friend wrote his name on them. Some are identified only by the presence of Thomson's hand. Thus Thomson wrote the Greek motto 'ὁ εὐσεβῶν ἄκρως φιλοσοφεῖ' in the *album amicorum* of Johannes Isaacus Pontanus in 1596, in the *album* of Thomas Seget in 1599, and on the title pages of two printed books from his library (nos 1 and 6).[3] He seems also to have written on several of his books the motto 'res tuas age', 'mind your own business' (nos 1, 2, 3, 6, 32). The origins of his practice are mysterious, but it may not be a coincidence that William Perkins (d. 1602), an influential Cambridge theologian, used to write on the title page of his books 'Thou art a minister of the word: mind thy business'.[4] It is also possible that books bearing this motto were rather late acquisitions, dating from the years 1611–1612, when Thomson was himself a minister of the word and had decided to suppress his own Arminian treatise for the sake of the peace of the English church.

We know that Thomson gave away some of his books before his death. Thus, he gave a printed Greek text of Gregory Nazianzenus to his friend John Overall, perhaps during the early 1590s (no. 5). He presented his rare Greek manuscript of Stobaeus to the Augustinian friar Leonard Coqueau, probably during his time in Italy 1597–1599 (no. 2). He gave a printed text of Irenaeus to Gregory Duckett, a Cambridge theologian and priest, apparently after his return to England in 1599 (no. 4). Thomson gave a copy of Casaubon's *De libertate ecclesiastica* to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1608, a book which so impressed the Archbishop and the King that Casaubon was offered a position in England a few years later (no. 27).[5]

One significant component of Thomson's library is not identified in this appendix. Recent work has now brought to light a large number of Hebrew books annotated by Casaubon.[6] Thomson's own Hebrew books must have been among the rarest and most valuable part of his library. Scaliger noted enviously that Thomson seemed to have better access to *Hebraica* in England than he himself had in Leiden. Such books would

---

'To Mr Tomson fellow of Clare Hall deliver al [his] parcells as followe. [...] Octob. 26. 1611. / Casaubonus ad Fron. Ducaeus 0-1-6 / a quire of paper 0-0-4 / 4 of his owne books 0-2-8 / Tractatus de potestate 0-0-6 / Conference at Hampton Court 0-0-10 / Articles of Relligion 0-0-4 / 2 copies of his owne booke 0-1-4 / 2 quire of paper and the articles of religion againe 0-1-0 / 2 quire of paper more 0-0-8 / [total] 0-9-2 / Thomas Walker'.

3 For the entries in the *alba* of Pontanus and Seget, see chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605', note 20, and chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599', note 56. The phrase is from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, excerptum II B, § 2.3–4 (ed. A.J. Festugière, vol. 3, Paris, 1954, p. 13).

4 Cooper and Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 1858–1861, 2, pp. 336–337.

5 See chapter 24, 'Bringing Casaubon to England, 1607–1610'.

6 See A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, *"I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue" Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*, Cambridge, MA, and London, 2011.

have been eagerly acquired and carefully preserved by later generations, and we may be confident that many of them are still extant today. Unfortunately, there are few securely identified examples of Thomson's Hebrew hand, and as a consequence it has proved difficult to identify Hebrew books which once belonged to his collection.

On Thomson's death in 1613, it is likely that his library was his single most valuable asset. The available evidence suggests that his books were sold piecemeal in Cambridge over several years immediately after his death. Almost all items from this library which I have been able to trace are today in the United Kingdom, so it seems that no deliberate effort was made to sell the books abroad. The autograph manuscript of Thomson's unpublished Arminian treatise was in the hands of a bookseller by May 1613 (no. 11). At least two large printed volumes from Thomson's library were acquired by George Cuthbert not long after Thomson's death (nos 17–18). Thomson's Greek manuscript of Philostratus was acquired by Robert Cotton by 1616 (no. 1). If an avid collector like Cotton was buying books from Thomson's library, he may well have bought more than one volume. In 1617, Matthew Wren found three manuscripts among Thomson's books which had been alienated from Pembroke College library, and he reclaimed them for his college.[7] Wren seems to have known Thomson personally—both men shared a patron in Lancelot Andrewes—and he attaches no blame to Thomson in this matter.

Echoes of Thomson's researches could still animate scholars a generation after his death. In the 1630s the young Johann Friedrich Gronovius learned that Thomson had accumulated notes on the poetry of Statius during his time in Italy, and he wrote to John Selden in England in an attempt to find them.[8] Selden could find nothing, observing that Thomson's reluctance to circulate his discoveries had contributed to their loss.[9] However, even four centuries after his death, there is an excellent chance that some of Thomson's notes and collations may yet be recovered. His library was full of the sort of books that seventeenth-century scholars coveted, and the present appendix

7 'Dedisse tamen me hos 3 ms. vix audeo dicere. Pembrochiani enim (nisi plane fallor) iam olim fuere. Surreptos certe venditosque, inque τοῦ πάνυ Thompsonii mei defuncti libris repertos, dato pretio denuo facio Pembrochianos' (M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, p. xxix).

8 J.F. Gronovius to Selden, 29 June 1637, postscript: 'Exploratum est mihi ex aliquot hominum testimoniis doctissimum Richardum Thomsonum olim incubuisse serio in *Silvarum* harum curam, habuisseque excerpta msc. cod. ab Italia. Ea sive notas eius quaecunque sunt et reperiri possunt, si ulla nanciscendi ratio est, immensum quantum debebo tibi, si efficies ut mihi eorum copia sit' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden *supra* 108, fol. 43).

9 Gronovius to Selden, 22 January 1639: 'Gratias ago maximas quod operam inquirendi de Thomsonianis curis sumsisti; sed nihil invenisse doleo. … accidit illi viro doctissimo quod aliis praeclaris ingeniis multis, ut foetus, postquam feliciter nati essent, nimium premendo et domi continendo exstinguerent' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden *supra* 108, fol. 12).

demonstrates that many of them survive to this day. His marginalia, made by a man at the forefront of the intellectual culture of his day, are often extensive, sometimes provocative, and well worth the hunt.

1 Manuscripts

1. Philostratus, *Heroica*, *Icones*, *Vitae sophistarum*. London, British Library, Royal 16.C. xxiii.

This manuscript has a brief list of its contents pasted onto the first leaf in what appears to be Thomson's hand. The hand appears nowhere else in the volume. Thomson had seen a Greek manuscript of the *Icones*, apparently in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, when he wrote Thomson to Vulcanius, 5 August 1594. The British Library manuscript was acquired by Robert Cotton by 1616: see C.G. Tite, 'Lost or Stolen or Strayed: A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library', in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector*, ed. C.J. Wright, London, 1997, pp. 262–306, pp. 266, 295 n. 28, 305–306 n. 161.

2. Stobaeus, *Anthology*. London, British Library, Harley 6318.

Stobaeus' work circulated in two parts: the *Florilegium*, first printed 1535–1536, and the *Eclogae*, first printed 1575. This manuscript of the former was copied in the sixteenth century by Johannes Franciscus (E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, III: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan*, Vienna, 1997, no. 247). It has a description on the first leaf: 'Ioannes Stobaeus Phisica seu collectio sententiarum circa phisica nundum [*sic*] evulgata ut testatur Iohannes Iacobus Frisius in sua Bibliotheca qui dicit extare exemplar apud Rudolphum Vincentiae Cardinalem'. The reference is to Frisius' revision of Gesner's *Bibliotheca*, Zurich, 1583, p. 500, which provides a *terminus post quem* for the note on the flyleaf. The reference may be to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio (1500–1604), or to Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (d. 1550), a noted collector. Beneath this inscription, Thomson has written: 'Reverendo viro, erudita doctrina, et pietate / in Deum praestanti Dn. F. Leonardo Coquaeo / Augustini ordinis Theologo eximio amoris / et observantiae testimonium d. d. / Richardus Thomson Anglus'. Coqueau is likely to have received this from Thomson while both men were in Florence, 1597–1599: see chapter 25, 'Thomson's *Elenchus*, 1611', note 7. Thomson's hand seems not to appear elsewhere in this manuscript. This manuscript was acquired by the Harleian library in the eighteenth century. Thomson had seen a Greek manuscript of Stobaeus' *Eclogae*, not identified, in Thomson to Vulcanius, 5 August 1594, apparently in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge.

3. Pseudo-Scymnus, *Periegesis*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 11, fols 155^{r}–165^{v}.

The first portion of this Greek poem is in an unidentified hand (fols 155^{r}–158^{v}); the second portion is in Thomson's hand (159^{r}–165^{v}). Conjectural emendations ascribed to Scaliger are recorded by Thomson in the margin (fols 159^{r}, 161^{r}, 161^{v}, 162^{v}, 163^{r}). The poem is untitled, and Thomson wrote at the head of the manuscript: 'Incerti auctoris sunt. Nam Scaliger descripsit ex longe vetustissimo codice manuscripto Pythoei literis plane fugientibus et scriptura incerta propter suam vetustatem' (fol. 155^{r}). Thomson subsequently added another note identifying the author: 'In manuscripto codice quod habet dominus Hoeschelius auctor dicitur Marcianus Heracleota' (fol. 155^{r}).

Thomson made this copy from a copy in Scaliger's own hand, Leiden, University Library, Scal. ms. 32, fols 5^{r}–13^{v} (*Codices Manuscripti II: Codices Scaligerani* (*Praeter Orientales*), Leiden, 1910, p. 9). Scaliger's copy had been made from a manuscript belonging to Pierre Pithou (d. 1596), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 443. At the end of his copy, Scaliger wrote: 'Reliqua omnia desiderantur. Quaternionis enim huius extrema pagina penitus usu detrita atque deleta erat. Sed et non paucos quaterniones alios deesse argumento est Europa, quae nondum absoluta est. Quare praeter reliquum Europae, totae Asia et Africa desiderantur' (Scal. ms. 32, fol. 13^{v}). Thomson wrote exactly the same note at the end of his text (Casaubon ms. 11, fol. 164^{v}). Thomson copied the manuscript in Leiden in the early months of 1594: see chapter 9, 'Leiden, December 1593–May 1594'. He promised to send it to Casaubon the same year: see chapter 15, 'Augsburg, Autumn 1599?' and Thomson to Casaubon, 30 May 1594. Thomson's copy was sent by Casaubon to David Hoeschel in Augsburg, and a transcript was used to print the *editio princeps* there in 1600. Diller's conjecture that this manuscript derived from Thomson is thus confirmed: see A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 22–24, 27–29, 51–52.

4. Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*. Probably London, British Library, Harley 5671.

Thomson acquired a manuscript of Proclus on *Parmenides* in Venice in 1597. He wrote of it in a letter to Casaubon which bears no date, but is of May–October 1597. The manuscript is probably Harley 5671, which was acquired for the Harley collection in 1722. Thomson's hand seems not to appear in the manuscript, but a note on the flyleaf reads: 'Procli Diadochi in Parmenidem Platonis lib. septem. Fortasse sunt inediti. Iohannes Iacobus Frisius testatur vidisse tres lib. Procli Lycii Platonici in Parmenidem, item sermones sex in eumdem [*sic*] apud Diegum Hurtadum Venetiis' (fol. 1^{v}). The reference is to Frisius, *Bibliotheca*, Zurich, 1583, p. 708. Diego Hurtada de Mendoza (d. 1575) was ambassador for the King of Spain in Venice from 1539 to 1547. The hand on the flyleaf, presumably that of a bookseller, is the same as that in Thomson's manuscript of Stobaeus (no. 2). The same hand appears on the flyleaf of Harley 5667, Olympiodorus'

commentary on Plato's *Phaedo*, which manuscript has, however, no marks of Thomson's ownership.

5. Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Alcibiades 1*. Perhaps London, British Library, Harley 5696.

Thomson acquired a manuscript of Proclus on *Alcibiades 1* in Venice in 1597. He wrote of it in a letter to Casaubon which bears no date, but is of May–October 1597. It may be London, British Library, Harley 5696, Proclus' commentary on *Alcibiades 1*, which was acquired for the Harley collection in 1722. The title on the flyleaf 'Procli in Alcibiadem primum Platonis' is not in Thomson's hand, and Thomson did not write the Greek marginalia in the manuscript.

6. Photius, *Lexicon*. Cambridge, Trinity College, 0.3.9 (olim 1181).

This manuscript was acquired by Thomson in Florence during his stay in the city 1597–1599 from among the Strozzi family collections. For its fortunes, see chapter 20, 'The Lexicon of Photius'.

7. Athenaeus Mechanicus. Leiden, University Library, Scal. 39.

Thomson acquired a copy of this work in Italy. For Thomson's connection to the Leiden manuscript, see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'. For the manuscript, see M. Gatto, *Il Περὶ μηχανημάτων di Ateneo Meccanico*, Rome, 2010, pp. 119–120 (description), and p. 187 (stemma).

8. Juvenal and Persius, *Satires*. Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms. 113.

This twelfth-century copy probably came originally from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds to Pembroke College (M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 109). It is one of three manuscripts which found their way from the College library into Thomson's collection (nos 8–10): see the introduction to this appendix. All three are small format copies of classical authors, in early hands, acquired from monastic libraries after the Dissolution. Several pages are missing, and the hand which records the extent of the *lacunae* appears to be Thomson's: see fols 1^{r}, 25^{v}, 26^{r}, 29^{v}, 30^{r}, 38^{v}, 39^{r}.

9. Sallust, *Catilinarian War*, *Jugurthine War*. Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms. 114.

This twelfth-century manuscript came originally from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds to Pembroke College (M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 111). For its fortunes, see no. 8. It is not annotated in Thomson's hand.

10. Ovid, *Fasti*. Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms. 280.

This twelfth-century manuscript came originally from Dover Priory to Pembroke College (M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 255). For its fortunes, see no. 8. It is not annotated in Thomson's hand. Thomson had also compiled notes on the text of Ovid: see Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600.

11. Thomson, *Diatriba de omissione et intercisione iustificationis*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson, D.1351 (olim 14080), fols 23 ff.

Thomson's autograph manuscript of his own theological treatise was in his library at his death in January 1613, and John Overall recorded that in May 1613 it was in the hands of a bookseller. The work was published in Leiden in 1616. For its fortunes, see chapter 27, 'Thomson's Legacy: The *Diatriba*, 1616'.

12. Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Professors*. Not identified.

Thomson had a manuscript of Sextus, *Against the Musicians* (= *Against the Professors*, book 6), with him in Florence in 1598. He supplied from this manuscript a passage from Sextus, *Against the Musicians*, 24, in connection with Columbanius' edition of Longus: see *Longi Pastoralium, de Daphnide et Chloe libri quatuor*, Florence, P. Giunta, 1598, p. 92. There are two Greek manuscripts of this work in the United Kingdom, one in the Bodleian Library (Savile ms. 1) and one in Merton College Oxford (ms. no. 304). Both were in Oxford before Thomson left for Italy: see M. Sosower, 'Greek Manuscripts Acquired by Henry and Thomas Savile in Padua', *Bodleian Library Record*, 19, 2006, pp. 157–184, pp. 164–169. Casaubon's own manuscript of Sextus now lacks the portion which contained *Against the Musicians* (London, British Library, Royal 16.D.xiii). Thomson had tried to borrow it in 1593 and 1594: see Thomson's letters to Casaubon of 27 December 1593 and 30 May 1594. In the former letter, he had also expressed a desire to work on the text: 'Nam ibi demum ausim aliquid audere'. Thomson's hand does not appear in the extant portion of Casaubon's manuscript.

13. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*. Not identified.

Thomson lent a manuscript of Vitruvius to Scaliger: see Scaliger to Thomson, 14 June 1595. On 18 August 1596, Scaliger wrote to Fridericus Lindenbrogius: 'Vitruvium Thomson suum nuper mihi utendum ex Anglia misit; manuscriptum quidem illum sed non meliorem excusis, imo in multis et longe deteriorem' (Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 2, p. 643).

14. Augustine, *The City of God*. Not identified.

For Thomson's manuscript, see Thomson to Vulcanius, 5 February 1600. He offered to send it to the Low Countries in connection with a continental edition of the work. This

projected edition seems never to have been published, and Thomson probably never sent his manuscript abroad.

15. Arnobius, *Against the Pagans*. Not identified.

Thomson owned a manuscript of Arnobius which was lost in London: see Thomson to Scriverius, 1 June 1603. Thomson also owned and annotated a printed copy of Arnobius' work: see below, 'Printed Books', no. 6.

16. Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*. Not identified.

Thomson probably acquired this manuscript in Italy during his visit of 1597–1599. He spoke of publishing an edition based on it in 1600: see chapter 16, 'England, from December 1599'. No such edition was ever published.

17. Theophrastus, *Characters*. Not identified.

Vulcanius gave Thomson a manuscript of Theophrastus' *Characters* in Leiden in 1593: see Thomson to Casaubon, 27 December 1593. Thomson had compiled notes on the text of Theophrastus: see Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600.

18. Scaliger, *Diatriba de decimis in lege Dei*. Not identified.

Thomson wrote that he had a copy of this work in his letter to Casaubon of 24 May 1608. Since it was not printed until 1610, he owned a manuscript copy. For this treatise, written in 1599, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 3, pp. 267–269, 300–301. It was first printed in Scaliger, *Opuscula*, 1610, pp. 61–70.

19. Scaliger, Latin translation of Arabic proverbs. Not identified.

Thomson had heard of this work from the preface by Casaubon to Scaliger's translations of Martial, published in 1607: see Thomson to Casaubon, 24 May 1608. Thomson confirmed that he had received the work in his letter to Casaubon of 31 December 1608. It is not clear that Thomson's copy included an Arabic text. For the proverbs in general, see Arnoud Vrolijk, 'The Prince of Arabists and his many Errors: Thomas Erpenius's Image of Joseph Scaliger and the Edition of the "Proverbia Arabica" (1614)', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 73, 2010, pp. 297–325.

20. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*. Not identified.

Thomson appears to have owned a manuscript of Ammianus, a copy he describes as faulty: see Thomson to Casaubon, 12 July 1601. He also had notes on the text of Ammianus: see Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600.

21. *Sphaera*, ed. Demetrius Triclinius. Not identified.

Thomson prepared a manuscript copy of Pseudo-Scymnus, *Periegesis* for Isaac Casaubon: see this appendix, no. 3. At the end of that copy, he wrote: 'Est etiam penes me *Sphaera* descripta versibus iambicis vetustissi poetae quam correxit Triclinius scholiastes Sophoclis. Si usibus tuis eam voles, pete: mittam' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Casaubon ms. 11, fol. 165^{v}). The work in question had been printed several times when Thomson wrote these words in 1594, but he had probably made a copy of the work from Scaliger's manuscript, Leiden, University Library, Scal. ms. 32, fols 20^{v}–22^{r} (*Codices Manuscripti II: Codices Scaligerani* (*Praeter Orientales*), Leiden, 1910, p. 9). Thomson had transcribed his copy of Pseudo-Scymnus from the same manuscript.

22. Perhaps Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*. Not identified.

Thomson sent a manuscript of this work to Scaliger via Denis Perrot in 1601. He had probably acquired it during his time in Italy. See chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599'.

23. Martial, *Epigrams*. Not identified.

Petrus Scriverius' draft letter to Thomson of c. 1604 is edited as part of the present study. It is now British Library, Harley 3417, fol. 145^{v}, and the recto of this leaf has a related note in Scriverius' hand: 'Elenchus mss et exemplarium [*sic*] quibus in Martiale emendando usi sumus: MS. Anglicano'. No other manuscript is listed, and it is likely that he had the one he lists here from Thomson. Thomson also owned a collated edition of Martial, not identified, and compiled notes on the text of Martial: see Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600, and chapter 22, 'Petrus Scriverius' Lost Edition of Martial, 1602–1605'.

24. Thomson had compiled manuscript notes on the *Augustan History*: see Casaubon to Thomson, 18 January 1601. He wrote of notes on the work collected in Italy which he sent to Casaubon: see chapter 13, 'Italy, April 1597–April 1599', and Thomson to Casaubon, 7 March 1602.

2 Printed Books

1. *Hesychii Dictionarium*, Hagenau, Thomas Anshelm, 1521.

Thomson's copy, Cambridge, Trinity College, shelfmark R.9.4, is signed by Thomson on the title page, and has his inscriptions: 'Res tuas age' in the top right-hand corner and 'ὁ εὐσεβῶν ἄκρως φιλοσοφεῖ' at the foot of the page. For these inscriptions, see the introduction to the present appendix. Thomson's scattered notes on this volume have been buried beneath the dense annotations of a later, larger, unidentified hand. The following list is by no means exhaustive: sig. a1v (the preface), cols 71, 102, 107, 111, 118, 151,

191, 194, 242, 439, 455, 462, 471, 515, 558, 611, 627, 635, 646, 670, 718, 767. In 1603 Thomson offered to send his notes on Hesychius to Daniel Heinsius: see Thomson's letters to Scriverius of 1 June 1603 and 30 June 1604. These notes appear to be mentioned in Heinsius' letter to Casaubon of 4 November 1605: 'expecto ex Anglia collatum cum Italis codicibus Hesychium' (London, British Library, Burney 364, fol. 228^{v}). In 1633, Patrick Young sent a copy of Thomson's notes to Heinsius: see J. Kemke, *Patricius Junius* (*Patrick Young*)*: Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I. und Carl I. von England*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 70.

2. *Alexander Aphrodisiensis, in priora analytica Aristotelis, commentaria*, Florence, per haeredes Philippi Iuntae, 1521.

The copy of this book in Oxford, Jesus College, shelfmark K.12.13, has the motto on the title page 'Res tuas age'. It bears no other sign of Thomson's ownership, and the infrequent Greek marginalia are not in his hand. It may have belonged to Henry Wotton, for the title page carries the inscription 'H. Spes non confundit. W.', a quotation from Romans 5.5. This inscription recalls one on a fifteenth-century Greek manuscript of Theodore Gaza's grammar now in Cambridge, Trinity College, shelfmark R.9.22, which has a note on the flyleaf 'Henricus Wotton spes non confundit'. See M.R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols, Cambridge, 1900–1904, 2, p. 265, no. 823.

3. *Ioannis Sturmii In Partitiones oratorias Ciceronis, dialogi quatuor, ab ipso authore emendati, et aucti. ... Adiunximus praeterea, propter studiosos Eloquentiae, eiusdem authoris libros duos, de amissa dicendi ratione, et quomodo ea recuperanda sit*, Strasbourg, excudebat Theodosius Rihelius, 1543.

The title page of this volume is a loose leaf now in the British Museum, Museum number 1900, 1019.53. It carries Thomson's inscription 'Res tuas age' in the top right-hand corner, and on the verso Thomson has written: 'Effigies Iohannis Sturmii, Rectoris Academiae Argentoratensis cui his XL annis summa cum laude praefuit'. The distich written on the same leaf is not in Thomson's hand. The woodcut on the title page does not depict Johann Sturm (1507–1589). It is likely that this title page once belonged with the copy of the edition in Cambridge, Trinity College, shelfmark Z.8.162, which lacks its title page. The Cambridge copy is not, however, annotated in Thomson's hand.

4. *Contra haereses, Divi Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis: in quinque libros digestum, in quibus mire retegit et confutat veterum haereseon impias ac portentosas opiniones / ex vetustissimorum codicum collatione quantum licuit emendatum opera Des. Erasmi Roterodami, ac nunc eiusdem denuo recognitum*, Paris, 1545.

Thomson's copy of this edition is Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, shelfmark DD.6/1.19. It is inscribed on the title page: 'Gregorio Duckett suo Richard Thomson'. Duckett (d. 1624) had been a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, since 1587, and was

ordained in 1601 (Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1922–1927, 2, p. 70). Thomson asked Scaliger whether Irenaeus wrote in Greek or Latin in a lost letter: see Scaliger to Thomson, 25 November [1604?].

5. *Divi Gregorii, Episcopi Nazianzeni Opera, quae quidem extant, omnia, tam soluta quam pedestri oratione conscripta, partim quidem iam olim, partim vero nunc primum etiam e Graeco in Latinum conversa*, Basle, per Ioannem Hervagium, 1550.

Thomson's annotated copy of this edition is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, shelfmark B.1.4. He inscribed it to John Overall: 'Richardus Thomson Humaniss. Overalio φίλιον'. The book once belonged to the Catholic exegete Cornelius Jansen the elder, Bishop of Ghent (1510–1576). It was bought by Corpus Christi in 1595: see R.I. Page, 'Audits and Replacements in the Parker Library: 1590–1650', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10, 1991, pp. 17–39, p. 28.

6. *Arnobii Disputationum adversus gentes libri septem. M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*, Rome, ex typographia Dominici Basae, 1563.

Thomson's copy, Cambridge, Trinity College, shelfmark Adv.d.1.8, does not bear Thomson's name, but it has his customary inscriptions: 'Res tuas age. Mihi Veritas Virtus' in the top right-hand corner and 'ὁ εὐσεβῶν ἄκρως φιλοσοφεῖ' at the foot of the page. For these inscriptions, see the introduction to the present appendix. This copy was left to Trinity College by Thomas Smith, who wrote on the title page 'Bp Wren's annotations and remarks'. While the book was extensively annotated by Matthew Wren (1585–1667), it also bears numerous notes in Thomson's larger hand. A note on the verso of the title page is also Thomson's, not Wren's: 'Nobilissimi et doctisssimi Henrici Savilii φίλιον.' This seems to mean that Thomson received it as a gift from Savile (1549–1622), but inscribed it himself.

7. *Le Pimandre de Mercure Trismegiste de la philosophie Chrestienne, cognoissance du verbe divin, et de l'excellence des oeuvres de Dieu, traduit de l'exemplaire grec avec collation de tres-amples commentaires, par François Monsieur de Foix*, Bordeaux, S. Millanges, 1579.

Thomson asked for a copy of this book, which has a very extensive printed commentary: see Thomson to Casaubon, 15 April 1608. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

8. *Callimachi Cyrenaei hymni, epigrammata et fragmenta, quae exstant. Et separatim, Moschi Syracusii et Bionis Smyrnaei idyllia, Bonaventura Vulcanio Brugensi interprete. Cum annotationibus eiusdem*, Antwerp, apud Christophorum Plantinum, 1584.

Thomson owned a copy of this edition of Callimachus, and one other text of Callimachus, probably a printed one: see Thomson to Vulcanius, 22 July 1600. The copy which Vulcanius inscribed to Johannes Huernius (1543–1601) is Durham University

Library, shelfmark Wilson 21; the copy Vulcanius inscribed to Franco Duyck (d. 1628) is at Blickling Hall, Norfolk. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

9. *Ad declarationem theologorum Rostochiensium, de Colloquio inter ipsos et Christophorum Stendalium Perlebergensem, bonarum artium et theologiae studiosum habito / responsio Richardi Thomson Antwerpiensis ... In serta est etiam narratio actionum eiusdem Richardi Thomsonis cum collega Heshusii Iunioris Til. fil. de eodem argumento*, [Emden], [1587].

There is a copy of this rare work in St John's College, Cambridge, shelfmark Hh.1.85 (2). The Cambridge copy has no notes in Thomson's hand, but it seems to be the only copy in the United Kingdom, and may have belonged to Thomson.

10. *Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX latine redditum et ex auctoritate Sixti V Pont. Max. editum. Additus est index dictionum et loquutionum hebraicarum, graecarum, latinarum, quarum observatio visa est non inutilis futura*, Rome, in aedibus populi Romani, apud Georgium Ferrarium, 1588.

Thomson probably had via Casaubon a copy of Flaminio Nobili's Latin version of the Septuagint: see Thomson to Casaubon, 10 June 1606. No copy used by Thomson has been identified.

11. *A short view of the Persian monarchie, and of Daniels weekes: beeing a peece of Beroaldus workes: with a censure in some points*, London, imprinted by Thomas Orwin, 1590.

This is probably the chronological book which Thomson sent to Scaliger in 1592: see chapter 5, 'England, 1591–May 1592'. It was in Scaliger's library at his death in 1609, but there is now no copy of this work in Leiden (*The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger*, ed. H.J. de Jonge, Utrecht, 1977, p. 44: '*A short view of Daniels Weekes*, etc. London. 90').

12. *Aristoteles De mundo, graece: cum duplici interpretatione Latina. Priore quidem L. Apuleii; altera vero Guilielmi Budaei. Cum Scholiis et castigationibus Bonaventurae Vulcanii tam in Aristotelem, quam in utrunque eius interpretem. Accessit seorsim Gregorii Cyprii, Encomium maris, Graece, nunquam antea excusum. Et Pauli Silentiarii Iambica*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1591.

For Thomson's copy of this book, see his letter to Vulcanius of 29 December 1591. The copy in the British Library, shelfmark 519.a.2, once belonged to Isaac Casaubon's son, Jean. An annotated copy in Exeter Cathedral Library was probably not Thomson's.

13. *L. Apuleii Madaurensis philosophi Platonici Apologia. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, Graeca supplevit, et castigationum libellum adiecit*, [Heidelberg], ex typographeio Hieronymi Comelini, 1594.

Thomson's letter to Casaubon of 9 August 1595 asked for a copy of this edition, and he probably received one. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

14. *L. Apuleii Madaurensis Opera omnia quae exstant, e quibus, post ultimam P. Colvii editionem, philosophici libri ope vetustiss. cod. ms. innumeris mendis expurgati; quamplurimis locis aucti per Bon. Vulcanium Brugensem*, Leiden, ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Christophorum Raphelengium, 1594.

Thomson was reading a copy of this edition, apparently his own, in 1595: see Thomson to Vulcanius, 4 February 1595. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

15. *Iosephi Scaligeri Iul. Caes. f. Cyclometrica elementa duo*, Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1594.

Thomson received his copy this book with Scaliger's letter to Thomson of 20 December 1594. Thomson's copy has not been identified. The copy which Scaliger inscribed to Janus Dousa junior is in Leeds University Library.

16. *Concordantiae Testamenti Novi, Graecolatinae. Nunc primum plenae editae, et diu multumque desideratae, ut optimae duces ad veram vocum illius interpretationem futurae*, [Geneva], ex typographeio H. Stephani, 1594.

Casaubon sent a copy of this book, printed by his father-in-law, to Thomson: see Casaubon to Thomson, 25 April 1594. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

17. *Athenaei Deipnosophistarum libri XV. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, et ex antiquis membranis supplevit, auxitque*, [Heidelberg], apud Hieronymum Commelinum, 1597.

Thomson's annotated copy of Casaubon's edition and translation of Athenaeus of Naucratis is now in Exeter Cathedral Library. Thomson spoke of taking it with him to Italy in 1597 to collate, but it appears that he did not do so: see chapter 12, 'Geneva, October? 1596–April 1597'. It lacks its title page which may have borne an inscription from Casaubon. It is bound in the same vellum as the commentary volume of 1600 (no. 18). It was acquired in the first half of the seventeenth century by George Cuthbert, whose signature is on the inside of the front and back boards. He may be the George Cuthbert (d. 1658) who graduated B.A. from Christ's College in 1596, and went on to a career in the church (Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1922–1927, 1, p. 436).

18. *Isaaci Casauboni Animadversionum in Athenaei Dipnosophistas libri XV. Opus nunc primum in lucem editum*, Lyon, apud Antonium de Harsy, sub signo scuti Coloniae, 1600.

Thomson's annotated copy of Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus is now in Exeter Cathedral Library. He asked for it in Thomson to Casaubon, 22 July 1600. It has Casaubon's inscription to Thomson on the title page, and bears evidence of Thomson's close attention: see chapter 17, 'Reading Casaubon on Athenaeus'. It is likely that this volume was acquired by George Cuthbert with the companion volume of 1597 soon after Thomson's death: see no. 17.

19. *Thesaurus utriusque linguae, hoc est Philoxeni, aliorumque veterum authorum glossaria Latino-Graeca et Graeco-Latina. Isidori glossae Latinae. Veteres grammatici Latini et Graeci qui de proprietate et differentiis vocabularum utriusque linguae scripserunt, edita omnia atque recognita studio et opera Bonaventurae Vulcanii*, Leiden, excudebat Ioannes Patius, 1600.

For Thomson's copy, see his letter to Vulcanius of 5 February 1600. The copy presented by Vulcanius to Janus Dousa *pater* is in the British Library, shelfmark 624.k.10. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

20. *Eclogae legationum. Dexippi Atheniensis. Eunapii Sardiani. Petri Patricii et Magistri. Prisci Sophistae. Malchi Philadelphensis. Menandri Protectoris. Cum corollario excerptorum e libris Diodori Siculi amissis, XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. Omnia e MSS. cod. a Davide Hoeschelio … edita*, Augsburg, typis Ioannis Praetorii, 1603.

Thomson contributed the extracts from Diodorus to Hoeschel's edition. His role is acknowledged in the preface. It would have been polite for Hoeschel to have sent him a copy, but there is no evidence he did so.

21. *The summe and substance of the conference: which, it pleased his excellent Maiestie to have with the lords, bishops, and other of his clergie, (at which the most of the lordes of the councell were present) in his Maiesties privy-chamber, at Hampton Court. January 14. 1603*, London, imprinted by V.S. for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard neere S. Austens Gate, 1605.

This seems to be the book 'Conference at Hampton court' for which Thomson was billed 10d by the bookseller Thomas Walker on 26 October 1611: see Cambridge, University Library, Vice Chancellor's Court Records, VCCT. III.18, item no. 83. The book was printed in 1604, and again the following year. Thomson's was probably a copy of the latter edition. It has not been identified.

22. *I. Drusii responsio ad Serarium de tribus sectis Iudaeorum. Accessit I. Scaligeri Elenchus Trihaeresii N. Serarii*, Franeker, apud Aegidium Radaeum, 1605.

Scaliger's *Elenchus* appended to this book was completed in 1604, but the entire book was only printed and ready for publication in April 1605. For the composition and publication of both works, see Botley and Van Miert, eds, *Scaliger Correspondence*, 2012, 5, pp. 371–373, 588–590. Thomson's copy of the book was probably given to him in Cambridge by Johannes Drusius *filius*, the son of its author, in June or July 1605: see chapter 23, 'Thomson's Hebrew'. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

23. Casaubon, *De satyrica Graecorum poesi, et Romanorum satira libri duo. In quibus etiam poetae recensentur, qui in utraque poesi floruerunt*, Paris, apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart, 1605.

The copy which Casaubon inscribed to Thomson is now in Canterbury Cathedral Library, shelfmark H/E-2–25. Casaubon's inscription on the title page reads: 'Doctiss. V. et amiciss. / Richardo Thomsoni, / d. d. / Is. Casaubonus.'

24. *B. Gregorii Nysseni ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam et Basilissam epistola. I. Casaubonus nunc primum publicavit, Latine vertit et illustravit notis*, Paris, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1606.

Casaubon sent a copy of this work from Paris to Thomson in England in 1607: see Thomson to Casaubon, 13 December 1607. The copy which Casaubon inscribed to James Mountague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, is Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, shelfmark S.7.63[2]. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

25. Casaubon, *Inscriptio vetus Graeca, nuper ad vrbem in Via Appia effossa: dedicationem fundi continens, ab Herode rege factam. Issacus Casaubonus recensuit, et notis illustravit*, [Paris], [1607].

Casaubon sent a copy of this work, a pamphlet of five leaves, to Thomson from Paris: see Thomson to Casaubon, 13 December 1607. The copy which Casaubon inscribed to Joseph Scaliger is in the Dyce collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

26. *Florilegium Epigrammatum Martialis. Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caesaris f. vertit Graece ad Isaacium Casaubonium*, Paris, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1607.

Thomson asked for a copy of this collection in his letter to Casaubon of 13 December 1607. He had received one by April the following year: see Thomson to Casaubon, 24 May 1608. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

27. Casaubon, *De libertate ecclesiastica liber singularis. Ad viros politicos, qui de controversia inter Paulum V. Pontificem Maximum et Rempublicam Venetam, edoceri cupiunt*, [Paris?], 1607.

Thomson received a copy of this incomplete work from Casaubon in 1607: see Thomson to Casaubon, 13 December 1607. In 1608, he gave this copy to the Archbishop of Canterbury Richard Bancroft, and asked for another: see Thomson to Casaubon, 31 December [1608]. For the Archbishop's interest in the work, see Thomson to Casaubon, 7 July 1608, and chapter 24, 'Bringing Casaubon to England, 1607–1610'. The copy held at Lambeth Palace Library, shelfmark G741.C2, has the gold-tooled arms of Archbishop Bancroft (d. 1610) on the binding and probably once belonged to Thomson.

28. *Polybii Lycortae F. Megalopolitani Historiarum libri qui supersunt. Isaacus Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latine vertit et commentariis illustravit. … Aeneae, vetustissimi Tactici, commentarius de toleranda obsidione. Is. Casaubonus primus vulgavit, Latinam interpretationem ac notas adiecit*, Paris, apud Hieronymum Drouardum, 1609.

Thomson thanked Casaubon for his copy of this edition in his letter to Casaubon of 21 October 1609. The volume was issued with an alternative title page: [Frankfurt], typis Wechelianis apud Claudium Marnium et haeredes Iohannis Aubri. Thomson's copy came from Paris, and must have had the Paris title page. Richard Mountague's annotated copy is in Durham University Library, shelfmark Cosin S.2.1; the copy which Casaubon inscribed to George Abbot, Bishop of London (1608–1611) is University College London, shelfmark Folio 1609 P6. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

29. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni In Iulianum invectivae duae: Cum scholiis Graecis nunc primum editis, et eiusdem authoris nonnullis aliis quorum syllabum sequens pag. continet. Omnia ex bibliotheca clarissimi viri D. Henrici Savilii, edidit R. Montagu*, Eton, in Collegio Regali, excudebat Ioannes Norton … regius typographus, 1610.

Thomson contributed collations to Richard Mountague's edition of Gregory's invectives, and he was probably given a copy. Casaubon's annotated copy is British Library, shelfmark DPB 1124.f.31; Henry Savile's copy is British Library, shelfmark DPB 3670.bb.26 (1).

30. Petrus Bertius, *Hymenaeus desertor, sive De sanctorum apostasia problemata duo*, Leiden, ex off. I. Patii, [1610].

Bertius' preface to this work is dated 12 August 1610. The copy of this work which Casaubon read at Robert Killigrew's house over the New Year of 1610–1611 must have belonged to Thomson, and was among the very first copies to reach England: see chapter 26, 'Final Years and Death'. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

31. *C. Suetonii Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus libri VIII. Eiusdem de inlustribus grammaticis et de claris rhetoribus. Isaacus Casaubonus ex fide vetustissimorum librorum recensuit: et libros adiecit animadversionum*, Paris, ex officina Nivelliana, apud Sebastianum Cramoisy, via Iacobaea, sub Ciconiis, 1610.

Thomson asked for a copy of the first edition of Casaubon's Suetonius in his letter to Casaubon of 9 August 1595. No extant copy of the first edition has been connected with Thomson. The work was reprinted in 1610, some time after 3 August, the date of the latest privilege printed with it. Thomson's copy of this later edition, British Library, shelfmark 1486.gg.2, is inscribed on the title page: 'Viro ornatissimo et doctissimo / RICHARDO THOMSONI / l. m. d. d. / Isaacus Casaubonus.'

32. *The Faerie Queen: The Shepheards Calendar: Together with the other Works of England's Arch-Poët, Edm. Spenser: Collected into one Volume, and carefully corrected*, [London], printed by H.L. for Mathew Lownes, 1611.

The copy of Edmund Spenser's works in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, shelfmark F.3.5, bears the motto 'Res tuas age' in the top right-hand corner of the title page. The hand is more elaborate than Thomson's usual script, but he may have been responding to the sense of occasion generated by the grand frontipiece.

33. *Isaaci Casauboni ad Frontonem Ducaeum S.I. theologum epistola; in qua de Apologia disseritur communi Iesuitarum nomine ante aliquot menses Lutetiae Parisiorum edita*, London, iuxta exemplar Londini, excusum per Ioannem Norton, serenissimae Regiae Maiestatis, in Latinis, Graecis et Hebraicis typographum, 1611.

Thomson was sent a copy by Casaubon: see Thomson to Casaubon, 18 November 1611. Thomson had probably already bought a copy by this date, for he was billed 1s 6d for a copy of this book by the bookseller Thomas Walker on 26 October 1611: see Cambridge, University Library, Vice Chancellor's Court Records, VCCT. III.18, item no. 83. Neither of Thomson's copies has been identified. Archbishop George Abbot's copy is in Lambeth Palace Library, shelfmark [ZZ]1611.24.

34. Thomson, *Elenchus refutationis Torturae Torti pro reverendissimo in Christo patre domino Episcopo Eliense, adversus Martinum Becanum Iesuitam*, London, Robert Barker, 1611.

In 1611, Thomson bought four copies of this, his own work, and then (presumably because he had given these away) another two copies. He was billed 8d for each copy of this book by the bookseller Thomas Walker on 26 October 1611: see Cambridge, University Library, Vice Chancellor's Court Records, VCCT. III.18, item no. 83. Petrus Scriverius owned a copy (*Bibliotheca Scriveriana*, 1663, sig. Liv, no. 105). A copy in Cambridge has a note at the top of the page which may be in Thomson's hand: 'Agi, si quid agis' (Sidney Sussex College, shelfmark s.7.65[4]).

35. *Tractatus de potestate Summi Pontificis in rebus temporalibus. Adversus Gulielmum Barclaium. Auctore Roberto S.R.E. Card. Bellarmino. Recens ad exemplar Romanum impressus*, Cologne, sumptibus Bernardi Gualtheri, 1611.

This seems to be the book 'Tractatus de potestate' for which Thomson was billed 6d by the bookseller Thomas Walker on 26 October 1611: see Cambridge, University Library, Vice Chancellor's Court Records, VCCT. III.18, item no. 83. Thomson's copy has not been identified.

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